

# Labor Age

NOVEMBER, 1932 . . . . . 15 CENTS

## **Ohio Jobless Act**

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

## **Marching Women of Illinois**

JEAN E. ROSINOS

## **New Miners Union Grows**

TOM TIPPETT

## **Brooklyn Edison**

JEROME COUNT

## **"Free America"**

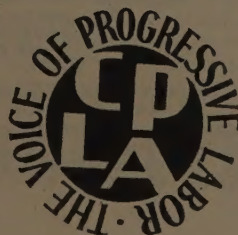
ARNOLD JOHNSON

## **Workingclass Ethics**

A. J. MUSTE

## **The Struggle In Britain**

FENNER BROCKWAY



## CONTENTS

## Editorials:

Election Results; Wall Street Accepts Roosevelt; Sovietism and Fascism; The German Elections; What Has Become of Harlan, Ky.; Workers, Citizens, Fight the Edison Company!; The "Wild Boys" of the United States; Advice to Railroad Workers...	2
Ohio Jobless Take State Action.....	Louis Francis Budenz 4
Marching Women of Illinois.....	Jean E. Rosinos 6
New Miners Union in Illinois Grows.....	Tom Tippet 8
Seattle U. C. L. Fights Back.....	Carl Brannin 10
The Warren Steel Strike.....	Fred Donaldson 11
Anthracite Convention .....	By a Miner 12
Revolt Brews in The Anthracite.....	Fred Gendral 13
Brooklyn Edison .....	Jerome Count 14
Working Class Ethics .....	A. J. Muste 16
"Free America" .....	Arnold Johnson 19
Pioneer Youth and The Labor Movement.....	Lucille Kohn 20
Workingclass Struggle in Britain.....	Fenner Brockway 21
Program of The S. A. P.....	From Kampfsignal 22
Recommendation for Unemployed Organizations.....	23
News From Workers .....	24
New Books .....	26

## THE NEW YORK LABOR SCHOOL

128 East 16th Street, New York

announces the following courses:

## AMERICAN LABOR HISTORY—

DAVID J. SAPOSS—ten Mondays at 7 p. m.  
beginning November 14th.

## LABOR JOURNALISM—

HARRY HOWE, TESS HUFF—ten Tues-  
days at 8:30 p. m., beginning Nov. 15th.

## CURRENT EVENTS—

LUCILLE KOHN — ten Wednesdays, 8:30  
p. m. beginning November 16th.THE FEE—for courses is 10 cents a lecture  
or 50 cents per course. For information  
call STuyvesant 9-2131, or see Maurice  
Goldbloom at above address. ENROLL NOW

## THEATRE PARTY

Clear All Wires—

Friday Evening, Nov. 18th.

Times Square Theatre,

42nd Street, West of Broadway

Orchestra \$3.30 — Balcony \$1.65, \$2.20 and \$2.75

## Support LABOR ACTION

by ordering tickets at once from  
MAURICE GOLDBLOOM,  
128 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

## LABOR ACTION

A president has been defeated, a president elected. This leaves the workers and farmers, the twelve million unemployed and their needy dependents, exactly where they were. But as the country goes into winter there is one bright fact: the long line of Unemployed Citizens Leagues, many of which, in the beginning, were groping experiments to find relief, are taking on character, finding themselves, spreading, growing, shedding the shell of paternalism, namby-pambyism, humility, and learning to act.

## LABOR ACTION . . .

As the country goes into winter under the guise of a "change" in political parties, the economic mess, instead of clearing up, will continue to settle down to a prolonged and grim siege upon living standards, and capitalism's second party, headed by the "new" president, will be given the lie and exposed, and the working class will soon find itself conditioned for a political rebellion.

## LABOR ACTION . . .

These facts at this critical time and the prospects they open to Labor, make it all the more imperative that the CPLA message of united non-sectarian action weld exploited workers and farmers into mass organizations, which, fighting for immediate demands, will move in the direction of a workers' state — that this message, distinct, realistic, and coming from no other source, be spread to every agrarian and industrial section, not next year, but now, at this critical, opportune time, to stimulate and encourage and inspire the incipient movement for a mass labor party and a united labor movement.

This message, carried monthly in *Labor Age*, must be spread broadcast in LABOR ACTION, the pending CPLA weekly, beginning 1932.



# · L A B O R · A G E ·

VOL. XXI.

November, 1932

No. 11

**T**HE American people, including farmers and workers, voted overwhelmingly on November 8, that they wanted to continue the capitalist system but with another set of officers in command. They said also that they wanted beer and light wines soon. They made it clear that when they talk about a "new deal," they still mean a new party or man in office, not any fundamental change in the economic system.

## Election Results

Returns are still incomplete, especially in regard to minority parties, so that final appraisal must wait until a later issue. It is evident, however, that optimists in Socialist ranks who talked about two million votes or more for their presidential ticket made a serious miscalculation. At this writing, fair and competent observers estimate that the Thomas-Maurer vote will be about one million, which was *Labor Age's* estimate a month before election.

For the present, it suffices to say that this leaves the problem of mass labor party action just where, in our opinion, it has been for a long time. On the one hand, these million votes can certainly not all be counted as votes for a brand new economic order. Few, if any, can be counted as votes for a revolution, since basically the Socialist campaign, when words are discounted and allowance is made for exceptions, was based on the appeal, Vote Socialist as the one way to avoid "revolution and chaos." It is stated that the "protest vote" went to Roosevelt, and that is true in the main, but it did so in part at least because many people thought that both progressive Democrats and Socialists wanted to make such changes as could be accomplished in an orderly fashion, without wrecking business, and preferred in such a case to vote for the party that had a stronger machine, more personnel, a more familiar and "American" appearance.

On the other hand, there is no adequate basis in the Socialist vote for the conclusion that the Socialist Party is clearly the Labor Party to which more and more workers and farmers will naturally attach themselves, and which should therefore just go on to add to its numbers, perfect its organization and tell any one who wants to see a mass labor party to join it or be damned. A million votes in such a depression year as this after a campaign that was vigorously and in many ways most efficiently conducted, by a presidential candidate of great personal popularity, with very generous support from the press of the nation, do not give such a mandate. How can we build an effective, united mass labor party still remains the question of the hour.

**T**HE outcome of the presidential election is still undecided as this editorial is written. One important shift occurred during the closing weeks of the campaign which

## Wall Street Accepts Roosevelt

workers ought to observe, regardless of the outcome. We refer to the fact that Wall Street, which strongly opposed Roosevelt for the Democratic nomination and was decidedly cold to him for some time after his nomination, let it be known by various means as the campaign drew to its close that it trusted Roosevelt and would not throw a fit over his elec-

tion. A good sample is a statement by the National City Bank appearing exactly one week before the election day. "The most notable aspect of the current political campaign is the endorsement by both candidates and party platforms of economy and sound money," according to this spokesman of Wall Street. "Both parties have taken the conservative side of the major issues" and there is "no basis for prejudgment or anxiety over the election result."

Big business and finance seems to have made up its mind that it may be wise to get rid of the personally unpopular Hoover and make the people think they have gotten a "new deal." But as somebody suggested, it will mean simply a "new shuffle." Roosevelt has given assurance to the leaders of business and finance, that he will be "safe." Any candidate of a party which accepts the capitalist system must do that. You can't keep the system and not obey the orders of those who run it and have the power in it. Labor will be fooled, and a fool, until it sets up its own party to take power and build a just and decent system in place of profiteering capitalism.



**T**WO great anniversaries have been celebrated in recent weeks, the fifteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the tenth anniversary of Mussolini's March on Rome, which marked the triumph of Fascism in Italy.

**Sovietism and Fascism**  
Both movements have made much of the occasion and have sought to impress the world with their achievements. Judged purely on the basis of measurable economic advance, Soviet Russia seems to have the better of it. Nowhere in the capitalist world indeed have there been such immense forward strides in productivity as in Russia. According to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, if you take the level of real wages in Great Britain as 100, then real wages in Russia in 1930 stood at 70, the same as in Germany and Czechoslovakia, whereas in Italy they were down at 40, as low as in Spain, Estonia and Yugoslavia. That certainly does not seem to bear out the boasts of Fascists about the blessings they have brought to the Italian masses.

Whether we believe in Fascism or Communism will not depend, however, upon the showing which this or that particular country may have made over a limited period of years. Two houses standing side by side may be in bad condition. One house is painted up, but nothing is done to it. The other house has new foundations put under it, new timbers put in to carry its weight, in addition to being painted. For a short time both may look the same, but actually there will be an immense difference. So it is here.

Fascism retains the profit system, though under a thin disguise; it retains the division between social and economic classes, the workers and the masses; it retains a medieval form of religion; it is intensely nationalistic in a world where nationalism has become a dire menace. Fascism is an attempt of capitalism to maintain itself.

In Russia the master class has been removed; the workers are in control; industry and agriculture are run on a social basis for the good of all rather than the profits of a few;



in place of nationalism the ideal is an international union of the workers of the world.

The destruction of Fascism, the forward march and triumph of the Workers' Republic, is what all intelligent workers throughout the world desire during this anniversary season.



**H**ITLER received a setback in the German elections on the first Sunday of the month and the Communists made a big gain.

### The German Elections

The fact that Hitler got two million less votes than a few months ago and is in no position to threaten the present Von Papen government does not mean that German Fascism has been seriously affected. As Prof. Gumbel showed in *Labor Age* last month, the present government is non-democratic, it aims to break down the labor movement and it stands for the landlords and capitalism, not for the workers. It appeals to ultra-nationalist sentiment and by insisting on cancellation or at least lowering of debts, and equality in arms with other powers, is able to maintain its hold, even though a big majority in Parliament is opposed to it. The slight improvement in economic conditions is also helpful to the cabinet.

In an election in which the total vote was almost a million and a half less than in the July election, the Communists gained nearly 700,000 votes and added eleven seats in the Reichstag, bringing their total to 100. The Socialists on the other hand, lost half a million votes and 12 seats, leaving them with 121. The Communist vote of nearly six million is by far the highest they have ever polled. The Socialist vote is the lowest since 1924. Berlin gave over 400,000 votes to the Communists, a quarter of a million to the Socialists, while the bourgeois parties got a scant 150,000! The Communists succeed the Hitlerites as the biggest single party in the important Ruhr industrial area.

If Fascism is to be stopped and a workers' commonwealth established, it will have to be done by a working-class which has revolutionary will and intelligence. Therefore, though our abhorrence of much of Communist Party tactics in the United States is well known, we hail the evidence of the rise of the revolutionary movement among German workers. It is unfortunate that there is no complete unity among the working-class forces. We rejoice at news which comes through to us to the effect that the rank and file of the German workers are increasingly demanding a genuine united front for militant, revolutionary action. Now that they obviously no longer have a republic to defend, will the German Socialists go to battle against Fascism and for a genuine workers' republic?



**T**WO recent incidents in the struggle for liberty deserve mention. One is the decision of the Supreme Court ordering a new trial for the Scottsboro boys. To give the

### Two Cheers!

devil his due, the decision itself as well as the quoted opinions of the court, which we have seen, are a notable contrast to the reactionary decisions and utterances which have often come from that quarter. We hope that the decision may foreshadow a larger measure of justice to Negroes not only in the courts but in economic life and in the unions.

The other event to which we refer is the publication of the section of the Wickersham Report dealing with the Mooney-Billings case. If there remained in the mind of

any fair-minded person any doubt as to whether these men were unjustly convicted, this comprehensive, painstaking report must forever banish such a doubt. Read this report by all means. Better still, get friends who believe in "capitalist justice" to read it.

Now the question is, What is going to be done about it? Do Mooney and Billings stay in jail? Does the American labor movement propose that they be left there? How about the A. F. of L. Convention doing something more than resolving?



**H**ARLAN County, Kentucky, a year ago was big news not only in the labor press but in the capitalist press as well. The local authorities in that coal-mining community, working for and with the

**What Has Become of Harlan County, Ky.?** coal operators there, were conducting a reign of terror against the revolting miners and their sympathizers.

The entire country was aroused over the ruthlessness of the Harlan authorities. Liberals and intellectuals, many of them for the first time brought face to face with the actual character of our social system, were horrified into action. Groups of them, students, writers, preachers, and lawyers journeyed to Harlan to voice their protest against the brutality and lawless actions of the coal operators and their hired and elected gangsters—but to no avail. Without much ceremony they were booted out of the county and state and told to mind their own business and to clean out their own back-yards.

Chief among the agents in dramatizing the Harlan situation and in organizing the delegations, were the Communist Party and its affiliated defense organization, the International Labor Defense. Several months after the trouble had started in Harlan, after the historic Evarts battle and after the state troops had helped to break the first strike, the Communist Party in the guise of the National Miners Union, entered the field. At first, it won considerable adherence from among the blacklisted miners and aroused much interest and sympathy among the working miners. As a result it attempted to organize a strike, which it called in January of this year. Concerning that strike a writer in the *Daily Worker* declared: "It is the greatest event in the history of the American labor movement."

Today, however, we hear hardly a word about Harlan County, Kentucky. From the *Daily Worker*, we hear absolutely nothing at all. The Harlan miners, at one time listed with the Scottsboro boys by the International Labor Defense in its appeals for funds, has been dropped into oblivion, so far as this organization, whose advertised purpose is to defend "all class war prisoners," is concerned.

Does this mean that the conditions existing in Harlan County a year ago have changed? Does this mean that the brutality and lawlessness of the coal barons and their henchmen, including the local elected authorities, have been checked? Does this mean that the miners in Harlan County are now free to join a union? And finally—does it mean that the 43 men arrested, at the beginning of the trouble, have been freed?

Not at all, it doesn't mean any of these things. Everything, with the exception of the student delegations and the National Miners Union, remains in Harlan County as it was a year ago. And, the 43 men arrested and jailed for their union activities are being railroaded to the penitentiary, many of them with life sentences, one after the other. If you doubt these statements, read the article by



Lawrence Seco, published in last month's *Labor Age* and the letter by W. F. Burroughs in this issue.

The International Labor Defense, we are told, defends all class war prisoners. Are not the 43 miners in jail in Harlan, Kentucky, because they tried to organize a union, as much class war prisoners as the seven Scottsboro boys in jail in Alabama, chiefly because they have black-skins? We leave this question for the International Labor Defense to answer, for "The International Labor Defense is the only workers' defense organization in America." In the meantime, however, we wish to remind readers of *Labor Age* and others, that the Harlan miners are being defended by the General Defense Committee, with headquarters at 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois, and that it is desperately in need of funds.

▼▼▼▼▼

THERE appears elsewhere in this issue a disclosure of Brooklyn Edison finance that completely substantiates every charge made against this public utility company by

### Workers, Citizens Fight the Edison Company!

the Brotherhood of Edison Employees in their organizing campaign during the past year. This is "capitalism in the raw," the cold blooded, anti-social system which puts profits above wages and the interests of stockholders above the interests of workers. And a Public Service Commission that evades responsibility for labor conditions in public utilities becomes an accessory to these crimes.

Against this set-up Edison workers must organize a militant defense. In this job the consuming public must give every possible aid. There are men in the Edison system with guts enough to take their lives in their hands daily for the company, manipulating high tension wires. Surely there are men there also with guts enough to organize in their own defense against Edison tyranny and exploitation.

CPLA will back every effort of Edison men to organize. The Brotherhood of Edison Employees, as it grows, will be able to give the sure protection of organized resistance to company persecution. The Public Committee on Power Utilities and Labor will carry the fight to the Public Service Commission.

Edison men, 40 per cent of you are on the streets! Do you think you will ever get back unless you do something for yourselves? Organize defiantly! Throw down the gauntlet to Edison dividend hounds and Parker's ruthless labor policy!

Brooklyn citizens protest! The acceptance of the chairmanship of the Brooklyn Emergency Relief Drive by J. C. Parker, head of this company which irresponsibly adds to the unemployment situation of Brooklyn, is brazen effrontery to your intelligence and to your humanity. Function as citizens and voice your protest!

▼▼▼▼▼

THOUSANDS of jobless boys under 21 years of age, looking for work, are tramping the highways of the United States, riding freight trains and sleeping and cooking their meals in "jungles," according to a study by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The study is based upon an investigation by Dr. A. W. McMillen, associate professor in the graduate school of social service administration at the University of Chicago.

### The "Wild Boys" of the United States

"Along the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad," says Professor McMillen, "many small towns in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona reported the passing of about 200 men and boys daily during the past winter and spring. This

railroad from September to April recorded almost 417,000 trespassers ejected on its 9,130 miles of track."

The Soviet film, "The Road to Life," has made familiar to thousands of Americans the story of the bands of "wild boys" that roamed through Russia before and just after the Bolshevik Revolution. Homeless and friendless, these "wild boys" lost all social feeling, became like animals and roamed the country killing and robbing for a living.

But in the U.S.S.R. today there are no "wild boys." The workers' government in that country, going on the theory that all that was wrong with these boys was that they had never had a chance, has been able within a few years to transform these products of an inhuman social order into self-respecting, useful, responsible citizens.

But what will the United States do about its "wild boys"? What can it do? The motive power in our civilization is private profit and not, as in Soviet Russia, social welfare. How will it help private profit to give work and bread and a home to thousands of workless, homeless, starving boys? How will that help to increase dividends?

Professor McMillen, good optimist and idealist that he is, recommends that life in the home towns of these boys be made more attractive. They should be given things to do by various kinds of communal activities in vocational education, recreation and gymnastics.

This is so much like a professor, always so objective, seeing the symptoms and prescribing a few pills to relieve the pain, but never seeing the causes. Only a foolish radical would contend that what these boys really need is that their fathers be given decent jobs, that a social system which drives them about the world looking for food and a place to sleep, making them live like animals, is no good and should be destroyed.

▼▼▼▼▼

RAILROAD managements recently proposed to the railroad unions that the ten per cent cut they took last winter should be made permanent and another 10 per cent added. The unions came back with a snappy refusal to confer on that basis, and for the time being the managements are

### The Hope of the Railroad Workers

marking time.

Herbert Hoover realized that talk about another cut for railroad workers was no good for Republican chances in the election. He therefore publicly advised the railroads that they could probably tell much better in January whether a new cut was really necessary.

At this writing it does not look as though Hoover would gain very many votes from railroad workers as a result of his intervention, despite the heroic efforts of Dumbell Doak on behalf of the G.O.P. The railroad unions are apparently banking on Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Dutchess County farmer. Way back he voted for a twin-crew bill and has recently told them some nice stories. Do the leaders of railroad labor really think that Roosevelt is not in the control of the same plutocratic forces as Hoover?

The hope of the railroad unions is, first, in making their fight on a positive and not a merely negative issue by demanding at once the six-hour day and five-day week with no cut in the weekly wage; that would be a big enough measure to have some effect on the depression. Second, to go back to their attitude of 1919, when they did not regard the railroad managements as their friends, but were fighting for public ownership to take control out of the hands of these managements. Third, in the political field to quit spending on the boss's parties and to help build a fighting labor party.



# Ohio Jobless Take State Action

**T**WO men—one white, one colored—had walked ten miles to get there. Others had come in any way they could. They were of the legion of the penniless and had learned to act without cash.

Delegates of sixteen organizations of the unemployed from various parts of Eastern Ohio gathered in this manner on October 9, to confer on their common problems. They had been called together by the Austintown Township Unemployed Citizens League and the Youngstown branch of the CPLA. Ninety delegates were present, representing a total claimed membership of over 12,000 enrolled jobless workers.

These "leagues," "clubs" and "unions" of the unemployed had sprung up in their localities in varying fashions. They represented many diverse points of view. But on the whole they had all confronted a common problem: the necessity for food, clothing and shelter against the economic whirlwind which had struck them and their homes. Gradually, they were adopting a common method of action in

by Louis Francis Budenz

general and were assuming a common name, "Unemployed Citizens League," although a number still had their own original designation.

This was the first time that they had met each other, to survey the things being done in this place and that, and to learn how they could secure more effective state-wide action. It was understood that the delegates were not to be bound by any step which the majority might seek to take. It was a "conference" that they had come to, and not a "convention."

The gathering was called together in the Niles Labor Hall by H. R. Bealer, chairman of the Austintown organization. Upon action of the membership, V. C. Bauhof, fighting chairman of the Smith Township Unemployed Citizens League, was chosen temporary chairman of the conference.

The atmosphere for the deliberations and reports was set by the speakers of the morning session. Gene Blair, business agent of the Trumbull County Building Trades Council, hailed the organization of the unemployed as a new effort on the part of the workers to control their own fate.

He referred to the destruction which the depression had wrought in the membership totals of the building unions and in the loss of their power. He compared the handful of men who had gathered that morning in a union meeting to the large number of delegates present from the organized unemployed.

Mark London, an attorney from Girard who has been fighting the public utilities, outlined the meaning of "public utility plunder" to the unemployed and made an urgent plea for the benefits of public ownership. Louis F. Budenz presented a bird's-eye-view of what unemployed citizens' leagues in other cities had accomplished, as an index of what might be done in other places.

## "Real American Workers"

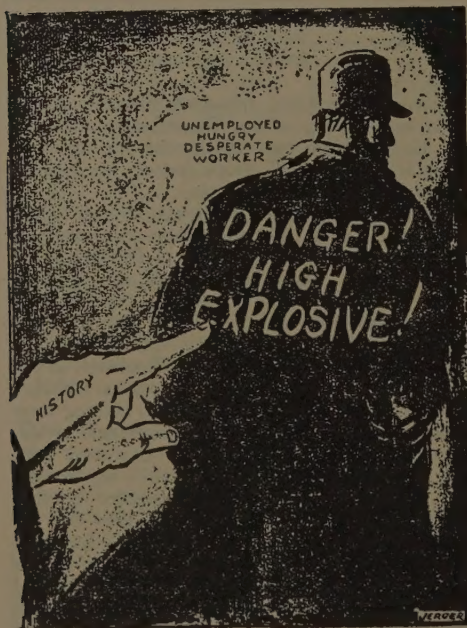
As organization after organization reported on their strength and activities in the afternoon, it became evident that these were folks from the grass roots of American industrial life. They were the "real American workers" from the steel mills of Youngstown, Niles and Warren, the potteries around Alliance and Sebring, the mines of northeastern and southeastern Ohio, and miscellaneous trades of all kinds.

Some of them had been particularly conspicuous for the fights they had made. The Smith Township Unemployed Citizens League, formerly the Unemployed Council, through Earl Angle, told of their successful strike of the unemployed for a 40 cents per hour rate on public relief work, their victory for rotation of work, and their continuing resultful battle for more and more relief. What a fighting organization can do was shown by the fact that this township has been awarded more relief in funds than all the other townships in Mahoning County put together, exclusive of Youngstown. At the time of the conference they were in a new struggle with the township trustees over relief and rotation of work, which led to the resignation of the trustees. A few days after the Niles gathering Bauhof was unanimously recommended by the unemployed of that township for a place on the township trustees, and was appointed as one of the three new incumbents.

Thus, the organized unemployed won there what they must seek everywhere: representation on relief-dispensing bodies.

The Austintown Township Unemployed Citizens League had been organized in a conservative community, through the cooperation of Karl Lore and George Perkins of the CPLA. This made another organization in Mahoning County and prevented Smith Township from becoming isolated in its efforts. Austintown started with self-help and had won the right to have the wood they cut hauled by township trucks. It was evident at the conference that they felt they should do something more. And sure enough, a week later, they selected a committee which bearded the county commissioners in their den.

The commissioners were so disturbed by this ruction in a comparatively conservative locality that they







British Hunger Marchers demonstrating in Hyde Park, London.

called an immediate meeting with the township trustees. A new relief program was outlined there. The trustees, who had previously refused to meet the league, relented on that score and in addition gave an accounting of the relief funds on hand.

### Women Active

The Austintown committee was composed of 12 men and 8 women. And the women members were fully as eloquent and emphatic in their discussion with the commissioners and the trustees as the men, it is said. Growing participation by women in most of the organizations is a healthy sign, the majority of the groups starting as men's movements exclusively but gradually securing the cooperation of the women of the community.

Down in Smith Township the women are equally represented on all committees to see Governor White and Major Braught, head of the State relief. These committees have come to be well known in Columbus, as their visits are frequent.

Below Smith Township, in Carroll County, there lies Brown Township, where the organized unemployed have also shown drive in their campaign for public relief. Their membership is largely composed of young men, whose committees adopt the simple device of going to the county commissioners and remaining with them until relief is secured. Announcement is made to the commissioners that the unemployed committee will not go home until some action for them is taken.

The Unemployed Citizens League of Hubbard Township in Trumbull Co. has also shown a good deal of initiative in going after the public officials. Started by local Socialists, it began with self-help but has certainly not

rested there. As a delegate remarked: "We have a grievance committee which is as deaf as hell when anybody says 'No!'"

Trumbull County is one of the worst counties so far as public relief goes. The Federated Men's Clubs of Niles have exposed the foods handed out in that city as wormy and unfit to eat. This organization, represented at the conference, was responsible for securing the hall for the meeting. This club has been organized largely by old union men. It has largely confined its activities to holding public meetings of the unemployed, at which from 250 to 400 people attend, and at which the sort of relief handed out is denounced. The Niles organization has not got down into the wards nor has it organized the unemployed themselves into a functioning group. At present, that is an element of weakness in its work.

### All Unemployed Eligible

The organizations as a whole, however, have followed the rule for which the CPLA stands: That these must be genuine groups of the unemployed themselves, running their own affairs and composed of all the unemployed regardless of color, creed or political belief. The Warren Boosters Club, which sprung up of its own initiative, is an example of this characteristic. The chairman, Eugene Melvin, is a Negro, and the membership is composed of many differing racial elements. It is largely composed of steel workers of the now closed down Liberty Mill in Warren.

The largest body represented was the Belmont County Relief Council, which is changing its name to the Belmont County Unemployed Citizens League. It has 6,400 enrolled members, in 34 units. The chief work has

been done thus far in Meade Township, in which Shadyside is located. One mine is operating now, and two others have been leased on a 75-25 per cent basis. That is, the unemployed receive 75 per cent of the coal secured and the owners of the mine 25 per cent.

At the conference there was some demand for the formation of a state organization on the spot. But the majority of the delegates agreed with the initiators of the meeting that it would be unfair to seek to do that, when the organizations had been assured that there would be no binding action taken then.

On motion of Truax, a committee of 5 was unanimously created, to be appointed by the chairman, and to bring in a report on a state-wide program of demands.\* The committee is composed of: Truax as chairman and Bauhof as a member ex-officio; H. R. Bealer, Austintown; George Perkins, Youngstown; Earl Angle, Smith Township; C. H. McCarthy, Niles. It was also agreed that a convention should be held in Niles on November 6, at which the program should be adopted, amended or rejected, after it had first been sent to the various organizations for their comments.

The report of this committee, which appears in the following pages, will cause some public officials to have a paralytic stroke. The committee, however, has worked it out so much in detail that they feel prepared to defend it before any legislative or other body. They intend to put the question up to public officials. "Could you or your families get on, even on that budget?"

\*The report of this convention of five is printed on page 23.



# Marching Women of Illinois

by Jean E. Rosinos

**D**OWN here in this little mid-western town of Gillespie, Illinois, in the heart of the soft coal industry, two great events in the history of the labor struggle have taken place within the short space of five weeks.

On the third of October, delegates to the first constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America met here, and in the midst of the depression and a seven months' strike they laid the foundation of a new and honest union which will carry out the mandates of the rank and file.

On November second, as this is being written, the first constitutional convention of the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America has met in Gillespie to lay down a definite program of concerted action which will, to a very great extent, determine the outcome of the present conflict and the future destiny of the miners.

Such enthusiasm! Their hearts yearning for the emancipation of their class, these wives and daughters, mothers and sisters of the coal miners of Illinois, have taken a real and courageous step toward the accomplishment of their goal.

You don't see the silks and satins, furs and jewelry, or the pampered faces and figures of women of the leisure class; you see a gathering of women who have tasted the bitterness of poverty, and who know what it means to brave the guns of the company thugs and the bayonets and tear-gas of the military police.

They are dressed in white uniforms, with the initials of the Women's Auxiliary of the P.M. of A. on their caps. They came in battered cars and trucks that have seen heavy duty on the picket lines in Christian and Franklin counties. In their faces you see the determination to carry on.

The fight has cost much in years past and these women know it will cost much in the future, perhaps for years yet. Tears come to their eyes as they listen to the accounts of the brutality of hired gunmen against the miners. They know what it means, gunmen hired by corrupt officials of a coal union, the mine bosses and politicians, but they are unaware that they are doing a heroic thing.

## Magnificent and Inspiring

The whole thing is magnificent and inspiring. The mass of women gathered here today will be remembered as

pioneers, and what they are doing will, in time, be a source of inspiration to working women and the wives and families of working men.

The first Auxiliary was organized in June in Franklin county under the name of the United Mine Workers of America. That was in the first heat of the miners' struggle. The necessity for a new union, free from corruption, was later found to be the only recourse left the rank and file to fight for miners' rights. The inspiration for the Auxiliary movement came from the wives and daughters of the miners of Indiana.

Almost overnight numerous branches sprung up, the women going side by side with their men, feeding and encouraging the picket lines, and reinforcing their ranks. They went in for a stupendous amount of relief work. They supervised soup-kitchens, collected clothing, operated relief stations and organized money-making affairs. All these activities, so necessary to the miners in their fight, have been under the supervision of the Auxiliaries.

## Convention Opens

Today the delegates meet from all parts of Illinois where there are coal mines. One hundred and sixty delegates are here from 37 locals with a total membership of nearly five thousand. The convention had been called because they feel the need of a statewide program of action in order to combine the full strength of all the Auxiliary units.

The convention opened in an unused theatre; William E. Brown, mayor of Gillespie, and a militant union leader, led off with a welcoming address. He asked the women to work out a program of action that would carry them shoulder to shoulder with their men in the battle for the new union. Songs were sung—

*"When the union's inspiration  
Through the workers' blood shall  
run—  
There can be no power greater  
Anywhere beneath the sun.  
Yet what force on earth is weaker  
Than the feeble strength of one;  
But the union makes us strong!"*

Barney Flaherty, veteran of the Vir-dien riot and other labor struggles, then

spoke — "pinch hitting" for Claude Pearcy, temporary president of the P.M. of A., who was away on business.

"The sacrifices you women have made have given strength to the miners to make a good fight. Seeing your efforts, they would be ashamed not to do their best! It is the first time in history that husbands and wives and fathers and mothers and sweethearts have gone together to the picket line!

"With you with us," he said, "we will not lose the victories we have already gained, even though we have arrayed against us the highway police, the militia, the sheriff and all his deputies!

"The constitution you write here today, as well as our own union constitution, will mean something not only to the mine families of Illinois, but to miners and their families everywhere, and to all workers, men and women.

"Capitalism is about dead," Mr. Flaherty told the convention. "We all have our own ideas how its death is finally to be brought about."

There was much cheering.

Then followed the main speaker, Mrs. Agnes Burns Wieck, of Belleville, Illinois.

## "We Must Fight On and On"

"We, sisters, have got one fact to face—There is no peace for labor! We must fight on and on because capitalism makes us fight.

"This movement is going to educate you and some morning you are going to wake up and wonder if it is really you. You are going to be radical. Do you know what radical means? I looked it up in the dictionary. Rad means root—radical means getting at the root of things. And that's what we are going to do—get at the root of our troubles.

"Some day, women, we are going to be the ones to do the interviewing of presidents and governors."

The speaker spoke of children.

"Think of teaching children hygiene when you know they don't have milk to drink! Teaching little boys the beauty of art when you know that they must go to work in the coal mines! The five years that I taught school now seem to me a mockery.

"I was a good teacher. I didn't know any better. I taught my pupils the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States: 'I pledge allegiance to the flag and to the republic for which



it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.' And then one morning I read in the paper of the battle of Ludlow where women and children were shot by the soldiers and burned to death. Liberty and justice for all! Think of it!

"I vowed that I would never again teach the children to say the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

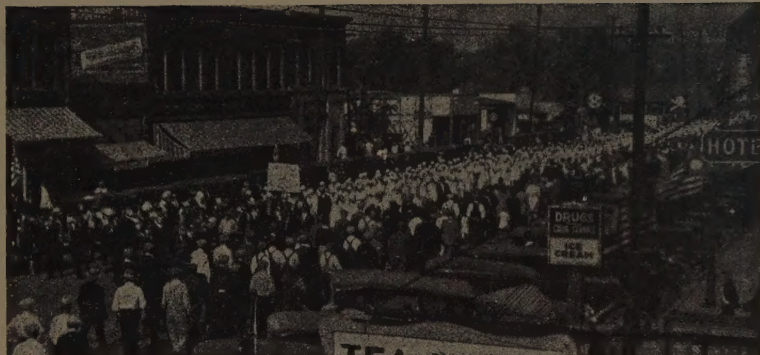
"Liberty and justice for all? Yes, when we get it, and that's our job!

"If the new president, when he goes into office, doesn't do something, and how can he? you will get more and more radicals as time goes on. It is our job to organize, to go into other fields and organize and to keep eternally at it."

Speaking again in the afternoon Mrs. Wieck told about the brutality, cruelty and coercion used in Franklin county by the officials both of the old union and the county to keep the miners at work although they are "ninety per cent" with the Progressive movement and only await a chance to break from their bondage.

Women from Christian county told of the horrors of the rule of the military police. The people there, they said, must stay within doors and are warned even to keep out of their own yards, and are not allowed to go on the streets. They told how the soldiers prod them with bayonets when they are caught on the streets, and how they are tear-gased. Women from Taylorville and Tovey told about the nastiness of the soldiers on the day that the annual memorial services were held in memory of Mother Jones.

It is no easy fight, the fight that the women in this convention are carrying on, and how Mother Jones, who never cared for women because she thought they wouldn't fight—how she



Demonstration in Gillespie November 4, greeting delegates to Ladies' Auxiliary convention.

would be inspired by what these women are doing!

These women have organized into a militant, aggressive association of miners' wives, and bound in spirit, vow to go ahead shoulder to shoulder with the men folks in their struggles. No danger that there will be any laying down on the job. When their immediate purpose is accomplished they will go out and organize women in other fields.

In some sections of the state victories have been won; more companies are signed up with the new union every day. The last one to sign up was the Superior Coal Company with mines in Gillespie employing about twenty-five hundred men. News of the signing of the contract came to the delegates in the early morning hours at a dance. Upon hearing the news, they rushed out, hastily arranged a parade, called the Wilsonville band, and march-

ed through the business districts of the town at 3 o'clock in the morning.

On the second day of the convention, resolutions and a constitution were submitted by committees. Gerry Allard, editor of the *Progressive Miner*, the official organ of the new union, spoke in the afternoon on educational methods to be used in furthering their program. A mass meeting and parade were planned at the conclusion of the third day. This was the third parade and mass meeting. Leading speakers of the new movement were present and talked to the assembly. Each meeting reinforced the spirit of the strike.

Was the convention a success? A great success! Genuine and real and wonderful. The women of the Auxiliary movement realized as never before that they are all striving toward the same end, that one's trouble is another's, and that they all, women and men, must work side by side to solve the problems of the laboring class.



Members of the Ladies' Auxiliary attending convention November 4.

## LABOR AGE CARTOON BOOK

*Is Good Propaganda*

Get a Bundle of them and  
sell to your friends

Write for particulars to  
WILLIAM BEEDIE  
Labor Age Circulation Manager,

128 EAST 16th STREET  
NEW YORK CITY



# New Miners' Union in Illinois Grows

by Tom Tippet

**T**HE Progressive Miners of America emerged a full fledged union with a dues paying membership, a net work of local unions, a newspaper, a woman's auxiliary, and a contract with a group of the producing coal operators in Illinois, from the convention\* held in Gillespie the first week of October.

The red hot fire of enthusiasm which marked the convention still burns throughout the coal fields of Illinois and is, I think, the one asset of the new union which, more than any other of the many excellent parts of its character, now guarantees its firm establishment in the collective bargaining machinery of Labor. The members of the new union believe in it sufficiently to march boldly into the jaws of death in order to defend it—and their women tramp right along into battle by the side of the men.

The Progressive Miners of America is not revolutionary or even a radical organization as yet; it is a progressive union and has within its ranks the best blood of the Illinois coal fields both radical and otherwise. At the convention and in the field later it was obvious to one acquainted with the miners' history that the kind of organization they are trying to establish is one patterned closely after the structure and philosophy of the United Mine Workers of America when that union was young and extending itself throughout the national coal zone. The new organization retains all the virtues of the old one but it is extremely anxious to eliminate from its constitution and program all the vices and flaws which destroyed the old union.

## Rank and File Control

There is a strong feeling among the miners that men elected to union office from their ranks became soft and often crooked after they left the pick and shovel in the mine and became used to a seat behind a union office desk. Travelling around the country, living at good hotels, etc., for too long a period tended to remove former coal diggers from the wishes and needs of the miners. So the new union wrote into its constitution that no man could serve as an official for longer than two terms (4 years) until after he had returned to work in the mines again.

The salary and expenses of the officers were fixed, not by what they can take by a steam roller vote at a convention, as is the case in the U.M.W. of A., but by the average wage earned by the miners from whose dues officers wages are paid. The highest paid official of the P. M. of A. receives \$1,700 a year. John L. Lewis gets \$12,000 and an unlimited amount for expenses, for being president of the U.M.W. of A.

Similar comparisons between the two unions could be made and the same results shown in almost every plank of its platform and laws. All power rests in the hands of the rank and file while the officers are so handicapped by a maze of checks and balances necessary to permit a democratic machinery to operate that no one but an honest man would risk the reins of leadership. And that was precisely why the checks were established; the coal miners have learned that it is better to guard their interests than to trust them to their official family.

This democratic machine is clumsy and slow, often inefficient, and it has worked no place in the world, but the miners have been so crucified by the dictatorship of their former leaders that they are now willing to take the slower method rather than to continue

with a policy that has ruined so many men who have arisen to power in the miners' union. At one point in the convention, when a committee was being created by the very slow process of election from the floor by separate geographical divisions, a desperate delegate moved that "We trust our chairman and permit him to appoint the right men." This very natural proposal was laughed out of order and democracy had its way and it took its time but in the end every one trusted the committee.

The P. M. of A. put back into their constitution a paragraph which stated that the miners "are entitled to the full social value of their labor." Some years ago Mr. Lewis had these words stricken out of the U.M.W. of A. preamble and substituted for them something else which declared for "equitable compensation." Either phrase has little significance since the miners will receive for their labor only that which they are powerful enough to compel operators to pay. But when Mr. Lewis changed the phrase he did it as a special thrust at the radicals who had disturbed the sessions of a convention. Therefore, when the P.M. of A. put the old phrase back their action had a little private meaning of its own.

## Resolutions

In so far as resolutions passed by a body of men indicate their philosophy



Band leading parade in honor of Ladies' Auxiliary convention, November 4.

\*The convention was reported in the October issue of Labor Age.



of life the P.M. of A. took exactly the opposite action as they would have been able to take had Mr. Lewis been in the chair with his well oiled steam roller in action.

They declared for Independent Political action for Labor. The miners once before resolved for a Labor Party in a national convention but that did not prevent Mr. Lewis from actively supporting in the elections first Calvin Coolidge and later Herbert Hoover in the name of the United Mine Workers of America. But the officers of the new union won't do that. There is a recall provision in their laws and that recall will operate. The rank and file in Illinois have been denied the exercise of power for so long that they too are anxious to play with it—just to see it work.

The new union declared for Unemployment Insurance (and well they might) for the freedom of Mooney, for Workers' Education and similar measures which mark a labor union with a progressive or militant character as against the incredibly reactionary declarations which identify most unions.

But neither constitutions nor resolutions make a union. What does count is: Does it have a membership? Will it fight? How does it effect the Boss? In that respect the P.M. of A. is alive and kicking all over the lot.

There are approximately 41,000 mine workers in Illinois attached to mines which operate in accordance to market conditions. There are an additional 20,000 or more for whom there is no permanent place in the industry, but who fluctuate from the unemployed to the employed groups. All of these coal diggers are a part of the union picture, because no matter how long a miner has been out of work, as long as he remains in the coal field, he believes that one day soon, somehow or other, he is going back into a coal mine. The gradual migration of superfluous miners from coal to other industries which Mr. Lewis and Mr. Hoover used to talk about has not taken place. America is choked with superfluous workers; it is no longer only coal diggers whose labor is not required.

But if one disregards the permanently unemployed hordes, there are in Illinois about 41,000 who still retain economic power.

The P.M. of A. have about 31,000 of them within its membership and 14,000 of this group are already at work under contract. The 17,000 who are out of work are divided up between those who are on strike and

those waiting for mines to open in accordance with the season's demands.

If you divide the problem by coal mines then the new union is much farther in the lead. Moreover the P. M. of A. is gaining ground every day. More, rather than less, coal operators are coming to terms with the new union.

### The State Sells Out to the Operators

The most powerful operator groups—such as the Peabody interests still refuse to recognize the new union but the Peabody miners are in the P.M. of A. and are conducting a strike against that company. The strength of that strike can best be estimated by the kind of struggle the operators are forced to maintain against it.

In the region of Taylorville where Peabody operates, the community is full of soldiers. The governor of Illinois has supplied the Peabody Co. with all the militia it needs to terrorize the county and this in spite of an active opposition on the part of the civil authorities.

Peabody's fear of the new union has brought about a prostitution of the state of Illinois, so disgraceful that it has upset all the civilized traditions of that commonwealth which the miners established through organization during the past 40 years.

On October 12, the Taylorville miners attempted to conduct a memorial service to the memory of George Bilyeu, a miner who was killed 38 years ago in a riot precipitated by a strike in Illinois for recognition of the miners' union. This memorial is a regular part of the miners' cultural life and has been conducted each year since 1898. The service, this year, had nothing to do with the current strike but was conducted by the Taylorville miners under the banner of the P.M. of A. The soldiers attempted to break the memorial service up but did not wholly succeed because the miners' women and those men who were not locked up in jail did hold a service—after a fashion—at the grave and in the presence of machine guns.

The following day, Andy Ganis, a striking miner in the community was shot dead in cold blood by a soldier. Ganis was not violating the law, he was not fighting with a scab or the militia. He was standing in the yard of a friend and he was murdered, for no apparent reason at all by a Peabody gunman, wearing the uniform of a soldier of Illinois.

The funeral procession of Ganis was fifteen miles long. Twenty five thousand miners and their wives stood by

his grave, which by the way, is in the same plot of ground where George Bilyeu is buried, and again pledged themselves to avenge the death of both Bilyeu and Ganis two soldiers of labor killed in a common war and for the same ideals.

The Peabody mines are a part of the Insull corporation net work of recent exposure. The U. S. government is now attempting to bring old Insull back to America to explain some of his sharp business practice. However, it is unlikely that Governor Emerson, of Illinois, will ever be asked why he furnished soldiers to murder Ganis for Insull's Peabody coal mines. There is nothing "sharp" in that practice—so common has it become in America.

### John L. Lewis and His Gunmen

In addition to the Peabody mines the P.M. of A. are at war with several other large companies in Franklin County located in Southern Illinois. There is no active strike there because the United Mine Workers of America cooperating with the local civil authorities have set up a reign of terror which has kept the miners at work at the point of a gun. Several months ago Joseph Colbert, a local leader of the P.M. of A. in that county was called from his garden to an automobile which stopped in front of his house. As he approached the car his body was riddled to pieces by machine gun fire. All meetings of any kind have been officially and publicly suppressed by the United Mine Workers of America. On October 16, the new union attempted to conduct an open mass meeting on Sunday afternoon in a public park. The meeting was ruthlessly broken up in broad daylight by thugs of the U.M.W. of A. who made no attempt to conceal their faces or their actions. With gun and club they brutally crushed the meeting and, in that way, denied to the miners of that county the common right of hearing the new union discussed in public. And it is by similar tactics that the miners there are prevented from joining the P.M. of A.

This article cannot list all the deaths and clubbings which mark the Illinois situation. Enough have been listed to indicate that the new union is being born in blood, that it has still to overcome genuine obstacles, but because that is true, the organization is being built out of elements which guarantee its life and extension. If it could have been smothered it would have gone

(Continued on page 28)



# Seattle U. C. L. Fights Back

by Carl Brannin

**F**ACING the united attacks of the bankers and big business element of Seattle, the Unemployed Citizens League is reorganizing to present a solid front to its enemies. This attack is taking the form of a withdrawal of food from the U.C.L. commissaries, the abolition of relief investigation by the unemployed themselves, the forcing through of a work program of two days a week for a week's ration and the establishment of a company union of the unemployed.

In spite of the past year's fine record of efficient work in helping themselves in a hundred different ways, a service which has saved the taxpayers more than two million dollars, the county commissioners, acting under orders of the chamber of commerce crowd, are scrapping all of this in the effort to deal with the unemployed as helpless individuals, shorn of all power and independence of action.

So long as the organized unemployed were functioning principally upon the industrial field—cutting their own fuel, salvaging fruit and vegetables, repairing clothes and making dresses for women and children, renovating houses for free rental, repairing shoes and trucks—there was no great opposition, but when the League began to take an interest in political action of a progressive character and vigorously fought wage cuts it became a menace which had to be put down.

The attack was presaged by a barrage of newspaper bally-hoo to the effect that a large percentage of the unemployed were getting food when they did not deserve it, that food was being stolen in quantities from the commissaries, in brief that U.C.L. operations were nothing more nor less than a racket. The two county commissioners who are running for re-election and the mayor of the city, who was elected last spring with unemployed support, were the chief purveyors of this line of bunk. Their diatribes have classified the leaders of the unemployed as wild-eyed radicals intent on taking over control of the city government. The candidates whom the unemployed are supporting are put in this same category, though they are running on the Democratic ticket and have simply promised to do away with the paid county managers in the commissaries and allow the unemployed to continue as they have been.

The situation in which the unemployed find themselves is much the same as a strike where the workers have suffered a setback and are forced to return to work without their demands being met. The county commissioners, who are responsible for relief, have checked the League, in that its members are being forced to accept relief now under complete county dictation, but it is being accepted under protest. Even though an effort is being made to draw the unemployed into a non-protest organization, who will engage in the county's work program for food as meek slaves there is a healthy spirit of resentment and an encouraging degree of loyalty to the League.

Since taking over the commissaries with paid managers (heretofore unemployed have done this work for themselves gratis) the rations have been cut almost in half. Milk has been reduced, so that children over 7 get only one pint per day and children over 14 none. The wholesale value of the food furnished is about \$1.74 per week for a family of four. This policy will drive home to the unemployed the necessity of maintaining their organization and carrying on a fight not only for more food, but against evictions, light and water shut-offs and for adequate clothing and shoes.

The League is tightening its lines with an educational program outlined to clarify the minds of its members and develop intelligent class-conscious action.

## Finnish Opposition and CPLA

By JANE OGDEN

For two decades there have been many Finnish workers in the United States. They formed Finnish communities and built cooperatives and social centers which served to hold them together.

Before the war the majority belonged to the Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party. And because of their numbers, strong organization, and class-consciousness they played a large part in the activities of such left-wing unions as the Western Federation of Miners, and were a great source of strength to the Socialist Party.

The Communist split in the labor movement had its repercussions in the Finnish Federation and gave birth to two warring factions. The right wing which supported the Socialist Party contented itself mainly with sport and cultural activity.

The Finns in the Federation under Communist control were staunch supporters of the Communist Party. They were enthusiastic friends of Russia and bitter enemies of Noske and Scheidemann. But in recent years, like other militant workers, they were alienated by the divisive and sectarian policies of the Communist Party, and in addition were forced to see the organizations they had created at the cost of much self-sacrifice, turned into

milch cows for the Communist Party. The Finns did not feel the ruin of the cooperatives as a failure in a business enterprise, but they knew the ruin of the cooperatives would turn many workers against the left wing movement. For fighting these, as they considered, narrow and short sighted policies, many were expelled and others left the party in disgust.

Many workers left the labor movement entirely during the split because factional fights in the ranks of labor discouraged and disheartened them and this left a vast number of Finns on the fringe or even outside of the labor movement.

Many of these Finns, feeling the need for unity, have organized the Finnish Opposition of the East in the United States which held its convention in Boston on October 23. A. J. Muste attended this meeting by invitation as a representative of the CPLA. Here they laid plans for further uniting these groups into one strong organization with policies, tactics, and aims the same as those of the CPLA. They have a paper *Vapaa Sana* (Free Press), which comes out twice a week and is read in the United States and Canada. They expressed agreement with CPLA methods of work and de-

(Continued on page 26)



# The Warren Steel Strike

by Fred Donaldson

**D**URING the past few weeks the *Daily Worker* has played up the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union (Communist) strike which was staged at the Warren, Ohio, plant of the Republic Steel Corporation on September 1 and 2. Now *The Communist* for October gives it a big spread. The S.M.W.I.U. which is affiliated with the T.U.U.L., contends that it defeated a 6 per cent wage cut, and has as a result of their militant fight thoroughly established their union in the steel industry. The strike is hailed as the forerunner of more and larger steel strikes for the future.

In view of the importance that has been given this strike, it is worth while to review the whole event by going over the actual facts as they occurred.

According to the report of the strike as it appeared in the *Daily Worker* for September 2, "Great masses of Republic Steel Company workers (struck) against the 6 per cent wage cut authorized by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers in accordance with its sliding scale." On September 4, the *Daily Worker* carried a long story which began as follows: "The strike of the Republic Steel workers is won . . . the company officially called off the wage cut after a series of vicious attacks on the picket line. . . . This is the first large-scale steel strike since 1919. It is the first time a wage cut has been defeated in a whole mill by the steel workers since the World War. . . . In the opinion of all this victory establishes the SMWIU firmly in the Mahoning Valley." In glaring headlines the September 7 issue goes still further and states, "Warren strike shows A. F. of L. chief wrong; strikes can be won."

## Romantic Fiction

If there were any truth to the above statements, they might be considered good news to the world of labor. But the facts simply do not square with the statements. With the exception of the one statement that there was a strike in Warren, on September 1 and 2, the rest is romantic fiction.

There was no wage cut inflicted upon the Warren steel workers at the time stated. "Great masses" were not on strike. And it follows necessarily that the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union did not win a great victory.

The actual facts are that 25 under-

cover workers of the S.M.W.I.U. were discharged by the company from their jobs at the Republic plant at Warren on Monday, August 29, because of their organizational activities. The union was forced into a position where it had either to put up or shut up.

This was the culmination of approximately two years of agitational activities which were conducted by the Metal Workers' Industrial League prior to the formation of the S.M.W.I.U. in the middle of August. This group concentrated its activities in one department of the Warren plant, the sheet and tin division, where the Amalgamated Association (A. F. of L.) has a signed wage agreement with the company. The M.W.I.L. spent a great part of its energies criticizing the A.A. and vilifying its leaders. There is ample evidence to lead one to the conclusion that company officials, if they did not approve the activities of the communists, did suffer their presence since it did divide the forces of labor. Although the A.A. had an agreement with the company they had less than 100 members out of a total of nearly 800 workers at the time the strike occurred. The strength of the S.M.W.I.U. is unknown. This organization claimed 500 members at the time of the strike although the leaders now admit that they had less than 100 members. The bulk of the members in the S.M.W.I.U. came from the Finnish group.

On Wednesday evening, two days after the firing of 25 workers because of their union activities, the S.M.W.I.U. held a mass meeting in the courthouse park in Warren, and through Pat Cush, its president, issued the call to strike. Here again the *Daily Worker* distorted a fact in order to make a good story. Whereas the number present given by the *Daily Worker* was 3,000 workers, there were no more than 1,000 in attendance including women and children and the many casual observers who are always present at such outdoor meetings.

In issuing the strike call, President Cush merely mentioned the fact that 25 of his members were victimized. The sole issue on which the strike call was based was that of a 6 per cent wage cut which he stated was being inflicted upon the sheet and tin work-

ers by the company through the sliding scale of the A.A. According to the agreement which the A.A. has with the company, the wage rates are adjusted bi-monthly in keeping with the selling price of sheet steel. The settlement for this period had not been made at this time; the announcement was scheduled for September 1. On September 1 the company and the union announced that the scale for the following two months would continue unchanged. It seems quite evident that the S.M.W.I.U. thought it could make a better impression if there was a wage cut, so its leaders manufactured one.

A picket line was set up before the gates of the plant at midnight when the shifts were changing on October 30. The company was surprised at the sudden siege because the union had announced that it would place its picket lines at 6 o'clock Thursday morning. The result was that a large number of workers were turned back by the pickets as they approached the mill. It can hardly be said that all the workers who refused to go to work were strikers. Large numbers stayed away or returned home because of the confusion of the moment. Many of the workers were led to believe that the A.A. had called the strike. However, the strike was quite effective on this one shift. The company was able to operate but 8 of the 19 mills scheduled to run. By 6 o'clock Thursday afternoon all of the 18 mills were operating. The S.M.W.I.U. did manage to keep enough men out so that it was necessary for the men to work 8 hour shifts instead of 6.

## What Should a Union Member Do?

It was in getting workers back on the job that the A.A. leaders threw themselves open to criticism. The officers of the Warren local of the A.A. did exercise themselves considerably in cooperating with the company in rounding up the men to go back to work. To a large degree, the A.A. members were responsible for keeping the mills running. Of course the strikers charged the A.A. with scabbing. On the other hand the local officials of the A. F. of L. union held that since they had a contract with the company and since there was no wage cut and they had no grievance, they were merely doing their duty as good union men.



Up until 6 o'clock Thursday evening, local police permitted the pickets to carry on without interference. At this time, however, the pickets were clubbed back by the police when they attempted to blockade the entrance to the mill. A number of the pickets received minor injuries. Seven strikers were arrested. On the following day after the strike had been waged for a little more than 36 hours, the fight was called off, and the S.M.W.I.U. claimed a sweeping victory against a wage cut which had never been announced.

By this time, although the union officials admitted that the wage cut had not been imposed, they still contended they had defeated an "impending" wage cut. Instead of improving their situation, over 125 workers were victimized because of their activities in the strike. Instead of establishing themselves solidly in the Mahoning Valley the facts point to the reverse. The S.M.W.I.U. now has the job of building pretty much from the ground up with conditions much more unfavorable than before.

### Playing Into the Bosses' Hands

From the standpoint of working-class strike strategy the S.M.W.I.U. erred, and this is putting it mildly, throughout. In the first place the dual union invaded a situation in which another union was functioning with an agreement. Even though the A.A. is extremely conservative and reactionary, this particular local had been waging a strong fight to extend its membership and to improve the working conditions of the workers.

What the Communist union, with its policy of dual unionism really did, was to play into the hands of the corporation by splitting the forces into two camps. Many of the so-called adherents to the S.M.W.I.U. went into this camp because it offered a good excuse to stay out of the A.A. While the Communists worked away quietly, the company seemed satisfied. But when they did gain in strength and became more bold, the axe was applied.

In the second place, the invading union did not have a ghost of a chance of winning even if the strike had been well planned, and fighting for real grievances. And finally, if the Communists really intended to establish themselves, which the writer doubts, they certainly went at it in the wrong way. Men who were in the plant spreading their propaganda before the strike, are now on the outside discredited in the eyes of the workers inside and without much influence. If the

(Continued on page 21)

# Anthracite Convention

by A MINER

THE Convention has gone five days. Three times it has adjourned early because of disorder. The machinery is quite well-oiled. The administration has a majority (164-129 in a roll call) and about the only tactics the opposition can successfully use is obstruction.

The people of Shenandoah are all anti-administration, and consequently Brennan doesn't dare to be too rough. There have been several threats to go into executive session, but they have been forestalled.

Brennan himself is a very clever and aggressive little individual. He gives the appearance of a successful salesman say of women's lingerie—with a Napoleonic complex. He is probably the most capable man on the floor. And, he has guts.

Surrounding him on the stage are a group of lesser lights, some of whom however have ability, notably Tom Buller, International Board member. His followers have been very passive. Almost all are of the wardheeler type.

The opposition is led by Fred Blase. He is a stockily built, rather oily individual of conservative mind and none too good sense of situations. On point of constitution he has the extremely able help of his brother, John, a little man with no speaking ability, but possessing amazing persistence.

Other opposition leaders are Mike Honus, who is, I'm told, a good picket line leader, but too rattle headed. A man named Whalen is in about the same category. These, with Blase are fighting mainly for jobs.

The outstanding opposition leaders are Kendricks and Pat Hansbury. Both are straight shooters (I'm told) and possess extremely cool heads, and a lot of fight. Kendricks, I'd say, is without much economic understanding, but Hansbury is a professing Socialist and should know where the fight will lie.

The big potential opposition leader is Tom Howells. He took the floor only twice, but was received by an ovation. He will play a bigger part when the convention gets down to business. Despite a large family and frequent persecution in the past, he has the guts to fight. Friday, after the convention adjourned in disorder, he joined with another militant in an impromptu denunciation of the whole situation.

Analyzing the delegations, I'd say there were three groups—Administration feelers, anti-administration job-seekers (majority of anti-administration forces) and anti-administration progressives and radicals who are looking for a clean union and progress through economic understanding.

This latter group is small, and as yet without cohesion. I would include in it Tom Howells, Pat Hansbury (Mahanoy Plane), Joe Gladski, Dave Mullard (William Penn), John Sedor (Mahanoy Plane). There are other potential progressives from a standpoint of straight shooting. Among these I'd list Kendricks (Wm. Penn) and Hoggarty (Locust Gap) as outstanding.

The scrap so far has centered on the question of who is to have the most delegates in the vote on the teller's report. Twelve delinquent locals excluded would give Blase the majority. Brennan quotes the constitution and refuses to allow these locals an appeal before the vote is taken. Blase claims that only 25 locals are paid up to the International and threatens to throw all else out. In my opinion, during the last session, he was attempting to introduce evidence and secure answers to questions which would help to build up evidence for court.

So, the fight is largely over jobs. In five days no policies have been discussed. The opposition has no cohesion—hasn't even tried to run a real caucus. The administration is sitting tight with its votes. I wouldn't be surprised if they were indirectly fostering the turmoil. The only danger in such a policy comes from the gallery and I think the effort to go into executive session will be made seriously Monday.

In my opinion, the time is not yet ripe for a split, which by the way, Blase threatened. If he were to lead such a movement, the result would be reactionary.

As for the radical group, they are yet too small in number and too lacking in common purpose and cohesion to be a real factor, except as individuals. Another week, will, however, open others to suggestion. I imagine a real, militant group may emerge, which in the course of six months or a year may be in a position to act. That is about the best we can expect.



# Revolt Brews in the Anthracite

by Fred Gendral

**W**HILE resolute-minded men are devotedly at work to build a militant miners' union in the bituminous coal fields, especially in West Virginia and Illinois, their brothers in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania are also at work to build a movement that will be able to cope with the problems arising out of our machine age.

One third of all anthracite miners are today out of work, or working less than five days a month. These 50,000 men are very much dissatisfied with their lot and demand relief from the conditions which are making paupers of them and starving their children to death. There are definite signs to show that the hard-coal miner is marching forward, slowly perhaps and not at all in any spectacular manner, toward militant unionism.

The work of the militant forces does not manifest itself mainly in "outlaw strikes" as supposed by some. Probably for some time to come, there will be no more of these "unauthorized and illegal" suspensions of work, which although often arising out of internal union strife more often were the result of grave abuse of hard won standards. In almost every instance the higher union officials co-operated with the operators in fighting these strikes.

Since the beginning of the depression, most of these strikes, unsanctioned by anyone, except the miners themselves, were called to enforce equalization of work among the collieries of the major coal producing companies. They failed chiefly because the elected "representatives" of the miners fully "agreed" with the coal operators' viewpoint.

## Work of The Militants

Today the work of the militants in the anthracite coal fields consists chiefly in organizing the dissatisfied and educating them, so that a strong opposition may be formed with which demands can be enforced, not only against the operators, but also against the "representatives" of the miners.

At the convention of District No. 9, United Mine Workers of America, held in the latter part of September in McAdoo, resolutions were passed demanding unemployment insurance, a moratorium on taxes of the small home owner, and an immediate cessation of the State's practice in attempting to enforce payment of bills incurred in

state-owned hospitals by unemployed mine workers.

The delegates went on record as being "bitterly opposed" to any wage cuts. Although the convention failed to adopt needed union reforms, it did, however, make a firm plea for those who were expelled from the union because of "illegal and subversive" activities.

District No. 9, which held its convention during the last days of October in Shenandoah, also showed a new spirit. The old officialdom, still in power, is now subject to the watchful eye of a determined opposition, in which our CPLA-ers play not a little role. The delegates to this convention caused the revocation of a local union charter, because the local had negotiated an agreement with the Philadelphia and Reading Company, which provided for a wage scale lower than that of the general agreement.

During September and October several conferences of various opposition groups were held. Means and ways were discussed by progressives, opportunists, and militants to effect a strong opposition movement. The groups, however, are too conflicting to work together, and of some it may be seriously doubted if they really have the best interests of the miners at heart.

Thomas Maloney, leader of the insurgents in the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre district, is a "practical" politician. The prestige of this Wilkes-Barre Justice of the Peace, is, however, waning.

The Communists, or "Rank and File Committee," are still remembered because of their failure to heed the strike call last March. Several days during the strike they continued at work and have since then lost much of their influence. They are still at work trying to "capture" several local unions.

Thus there remains our CPLA comrades and the followers of Frank Vratarić, who now has the honor of being blacklisted in both the bituminous and anthracite regions. (This militant worker has been expelled from the union for 15 years by the union district administration.) This latter group, with the CPLA, who receive the aid of the Socialists, are at present making real headway in forming an effective opposition and will yet be heard from.

Much speculation has centered around the once fiery, one-armed Rinaldo Cappellin. As president of District No. 1 he became involved in scandals and was forced out of office some four years ago, after which he served a term in jail for arson. He is now back in union affairs again, and at a speech made before 4000 miners near Wilkes-Barre on October 16, criticized the district officials for their laxity in enforcing the wage scale, but maintained that he was not a candidate for any union office. His appearance on the same platform with Thomas Maloney, however, shows that an agreement must have been reached between these two "leaders" of anthracite miners.

## Wage Cuts

Wage cuts are continually going on throughout the whole region and the miners are bitterly opposed to additional "official" cuts. At the wage negotiations in New York, the miners' representatives had to consider this intense feeling against wage reductions, but little or nothing was said about the indirect wage cuts taking place at practically every mine in the hard-coal field.

The miners maintained at the conference that freight rates should be lowered, claiming that the anthracite carrying roads were charging from 50 to 75 per cent more to haul coal than the bituminous carriers.

The contract between the miners and the operators stipulates that whenever the pact is opened matters in dispute must be referred to a commission of two in the event that the conferees are unable to agree within 30 days after the re-opening of negotiations. The 30 day limit was reached on October 3, and on or about November 3, the joint committee will meet again and at that time each side will select its representative on the commission.

The commission will have 90 days to reach an agreement. It may, if both members agree to such a procedure, select a third man, which would raise the commission to the status of a board of arbitration.

Twelve years ago the anthracite miners agreed to arbitrate. A most disappointing decision has caused them from then on to be firmly opposed to arbitration, which many call "the graveyard of the miners' demands." It is there-

(Continued on page 27)



# Brooklyn Edison

## *A Study in Wages, Profits and the Consumer*

by Jerome Count

**T**HE shocking news of October, 1932, that the Brooklyn Edison Company had discharged 2800 employees, was followed in November by a reassurance to the financial world that dividend payments would be made at the same exorbitant 8 per cent rate that has prevailed for 30 years.

Official reports, published in the *New York Times* of November 2, 1932, disclose that Brooklyn Edison business for the last twelve months had actually exceeded that of the previous twelve month period. Net earnings and income for the last three-month period had increased over the same period of 1931. Dividends for 1932 will reach \$10,000,000—a new “high” for Brooklyn Edison, \$1,200,000 more than was paid in 1931 and \$2,800,000 more than was paid for dividends in 1928, 1929 and 1930.

The October lay-off tragedy and the November profit news presented a glaring contrast that invites investigation of the Brooklyn Edison dividend structure.

Brooklyn Edison began paying 8 per cent dividends 30 years ago and has had a consistent record ever since. Wage earners struggle with poverty, millions of unemployed face starvation, vast industries suffer deficits, railroads suspend dividends, private corporations pay dividends out of rapidly dwindling surpluses, but Brooklyn Edison stockholders are exempt from economic calamity. Eight per cent is Brooklyn Edison's “iron law of dividends!”

### **Taxation Without Representation**

Every one of Brooklyn Edison's 829,000 meters represents an average “dividend tax” of \$10 a year. More than 2,000,000 citizens in the princely domain of Brooklyn Edison pay \$4.00 per head for Edison dividends. “Taxation without representation” is no idle phrase here. An average family of four persons now pays \$16 each year for Edison dividends—equal to the present income tax of the United States Government on the same family having an income of at least \$3,700 per annum. There are dividends of 20 cents in every dollar spent for electricity by the people of Brooklyn. Forty million dollars has been con-

tributed by Brooklyn consumers for Edison dividends in the past five years alone, of which 55 per cent was paid in two-and-a-half years of the most stringent economic distress throughout the nation.

Profits available for Brooklyn Edison dividends, during the depression, have equalled 25 per cent of the gross sales. Thirteen million four hundred thousand dollars was available for dividends in 1931 out of gross sales of \$48,000,000. Again in 1930, \$13,700,000 was available for dividends out of \$46,000,000 in sales. It is a curious and tragic phenomenon that Brooklyn Edison can maintain peak profits when the world is in the depths of economic chaos. Reasons can be found in unscrupulous rates and a vicious labor policy.

Beginning in 1921 Brooklyn Edison stock was increased from \$19,000,000 capitalization to \$125,000,000 ten years later. Dividends, therefore, are now paid at the same 8 per cent rate on six hundred per cent more stock than ten years ago. Electric consumption, however, only increased 10 to 15 per cent every year. It is apparent that this private monopoly operates under a system that requires a 60 per cent annual increase in dividends in order to supply 10 or 15 per cent more electricity per year. Whether this disparity can be put down to incompetent management, the inherent injustice of the system that sanctions it, or the deliberate schemes of dividend-hungry stockholders, makes scant difference to the consumer. He pays the dividends with a well-founded suspicion that all three causes contribute their burden to his monthly electric bill.

### **250 Per Cent Surplus in 5 Years**

While paying exorbitant dividends for three decades, Brooklyn Edison has not neglected its future. Twenty million dollars in accumulated reserves are stored up, lest the next thirty years fail to measure up to the past! 1931 added \$4,000,000 to the total Brooklyn Edison surplus of \$30,500,000. The surplus was increased 250 per cent in the past five years alone.

The consumer has little recourse against this staggering load. The regulation of public utilities has proved a consummate failure. The files of the Public Service Commission overflow with Edison scandal sufficient to convict the Commission of gross neglect in permitting rates to remain at their present level.

A decade ago, public clamour brought the issue to the Public Service Commission. Mayor John F. Hylan petitioned the Commission in 1923, charging that Edison rates were excessive, exorbitant and unlawful. Hearings continue for six long years and the case was finally closed. The public waited, the petitioner became ex-Mayor Hylan, administration after administration passed through City Hall. Hundreds of thousands of dollars had been spent in the proceeding. But the public waited in vain for a decision of the Public Service Commission.

Finally, in the following year, while still awaiting the Commission's momentous decision after seven years of consideration, the public was startled by an offer of \$6,000,000 in reduced rates, volunteered by Mr. Sloan, President of the Edison system. But for the small needy consumer, there was to be no relief. In fact the proposed reduction was expressly conditioned upon an increase in the rates of the small consumer. Hearings were had anew, in which the Public Service Commission refused to receive any testimony showing that the Edison system carried \$100,000,000 in fictitious capitalization—that would involve an expensive rate proceeding, said the Commission with seven years' consideration behind it. And with a fanfare of legal sanctity and the approving stamp of “Utility Regulation,” the small consumer, being more than 50 per cent of all consumers, found his electric bill substantially increased.

The Public Service Commission has been literally besieged with public complaints against excessive electric rates, and it is now proposed by the Greater New York Consumers' League to join all complaints in one final assault on the Edison system. Fifteen years of struggle has failed to move this gigantic monopoly in the direction of reasonable rates.



## How Do Edison Workers Share?

The consumer shares this oppressive load with Edison employees. While dividends have been secure and excessive for thirty years, Brooklyn Edison workers have labored under the threat of insecurity and the curse of underpayment. Although total dividend payments increased at the rate of 60 per cent each year since 1921, the average wage remained constant and the total wages paid (by reason of increase in force but not in the average wage) increased only 15 per cent annually up to the end of 1930. Brooklyn Edison stockholders reaped the benefits of a decade's increase in industry at a ratio of four parts to every one apportioned to its employees.

Came the depression and 1931. Brooklyn Edison dividends increased from \$7,200,000 to \$8,800,000 but wages decreased by \$1,126,000. With the year 1932, dividends again increased, this time from \$8,800,000 to \$10,000,000. It is estimated that wages decreased by \$4,575,000 under the 1930 level.

An analysis of the average stockholder's booty and the wages of the average worker in a typical year (1926) before the Consolidated Gas Co. assumed control of Brooklyn Edison, brings the relation of profits to wages into sharp relief. Eight thousand and six hundred and sixty six employees devoting their entire year's labor to the production and distribution of electricity to more than 2,000,000 people, received an average wage of \$1,500 per annum. Five hundred dollars (or one-third of the average wage) was paid to 11,343 average stockholders enjoying the privileges of absentee ownership. Total dividends paid were equal to 48 per cent of the total amount paid to wage earners. The elimination of dividends would raise a miserable wage level (less than \$30 a week in the boom year 1926) to \$2-00 per year.

Many men sacrificed Union wages in boom years in exchange for meagre Edison wages and for the hope of security when Union men might suffer the sins of depression. Thirteen thousand nine hundred and forty eight Brooklyn Edison workers believed in that salvation in the beginning of 1931. Five thousand of them have been completely disillusioned. Two thousand of them have been out of Brooklyn Edison employ for two years and 3,000 more learned their lesson in 1932. It is estimated that these 5,000 men could have remained in the employ of

## POLICE STOP MARCH ON EDISON BUILDING

Force of 100 Called Out When Parade of 24 Is Reported as 'Riot of 1,000 Reds.'

## LAY-OFFS ARE PROTESTED

The Rev. Elliot White Leads Pickets Denouncing Ousting of 2,800'—Only Four Reach Plant.

Police reserves, gun squads, emergency crews, mounted men and patrolmen numbering more than 100 took command of the Borough Hall section of Brooklyn yesterday when two dozen men and women led by the Rev. Elliot White, formerly rector of Grace Church, Manhattan, marched to the Brooklyn Edison Company building, 280 Pearl Street, where they intended to stage a protest meeting directed against the company's action in "laying off 2,800 workers." The crowd was dis-

The above news item from the New York Times of November 3 refers to a demonstration arranged by the Brotherhood of Edison Employees to protest the recent layoff of 2,800 Edison workers.

the Brooklyn Edison Company at a wage cost of \$6,000,000. During the same period while this cost would have been borne, Brooklyn Edison Company had \$25,000,000 available for dividends (\$18,800,000 actually paid) and \$22,000,000 in accumulated reserves.

## The Pious Mr. Parker

"Alas," says pious Mr. Parker, President of Brooklyn Edison, "Alas, but construction work on which these men were engaged has been completed, and when a house is built, it can't be built again." "But, Mr. Parker," the Public Committee on Power Utilities and Labor, answers, "what about the 36,500,000 feet of overhead wire which the Legislature found to be a public menace forty years ago? And why not complete the change-over from 'D. C.' to 'A. C.' current, Mr. Parker?" "Oh," answers Mr. Parker, "we are 'way ahead of schedule." "Need you be told," suggests the Com-

mittee, "as Chairman of Brooklyn's Emergency Relief Drive, that 5,000 of your men and their families are 'ahead of schedule' in distress and starvation?"

A Committee of Citizens, who recently visited Mr. Parker to obtain his assurances of continued work for Brooklyn Edison employees, was greeted with an air of sanctimonious respect for the rights of labor. Mr. Parker impressed his callers with his pious reverence for nothing less than "home, school and society." He declared it his sacred responsibility to keep Edison men employed. He insisted that the common dictates of conscience demanded this of him. Soon after, he discharged 2,800 men while 36,500,000 feet of wire remain overhead, and a regular quarterly dividend of \$2-500,000 was promptly declared. Mr. Parker, no doubt, was motivated by the same pious sentiment when he accepted the Chairmanship of the Emergency Relief Drive. "Stripping Peter after robbing Paul" is an axiom of Parker ethics.

The Brooklyn Edison Company has resisted every effort of the Brotherhood of Edison Employees to organize its workers. In the reign of Matthew Sloan, these efforts met with organized violence, suppression and the insidious threat of espionage. Although the Brooklyn Edison Company denied all connection with these violent assaults, they ceased immediately upon the resignation of Matthew S. Sloan.

With the ascent of Mr. Parker, open violence disappeared, until November 2, 1932, when a dozen persons peacefully picketing Edison offices, were forcibly dispersed by 100 policemen including a riot squad with rifles in hand, a dozen mounted police, and assorted police inspectors and lieutenants. The threat of discharge for membership in the Brotherhood of Edison Employees has not been removed by Mr. Parker.

The pressing need of organized protection of Edison employees is strikingly emphasized by recent events in Brooklyn Edison finance. Consumption increases, excessive rates and maximum dividend booty continue, capitalization increases, reserves and surplus pile up—but employment is cut 40 per cent!



# Working-Class Ethics

by A. J. Muste

IT is with some hesitation that I enter upon a brief discussion of this subject, having just been engaged in reading a very interesting, and I think penetrating, book written by Leon Samson entitled "The American Mind," which along with a good many other sharp sayings, makes a remark to the effect that ethics is a field in which any moron is at home. Perhaps that is all the more reason why occasionally wise and intelligent people should venture into it.

Until comparatively recently practically all people thought that the rules of ethics, or morals, were somehow handed down out of the sky, or that they existed in the nature of things. They were sacred, they were immutable, they were eternal. There are still a great many people who think that this is the case. It followed, of course, that any normal human being would understand what was right, just exactly as he would understand that two times two is four, when you explained it to him, and that he would undoubtedly and quite justly be sent to hell if he did not act according to the conception of right that was placed before him.

There is one consideration among a great many others which seems to invalidate that notion of the sacred and unchanging character of our codes of morality, the fact, namely, that there are a great many variations in these codes. In some places it has been a great virtue to be able to steal, for example, although it was regarded as a crime to be caught. In some communities and periods the possession of a number of wives has been regarded as a highly moral thing, a duty that was owed to the community. In other communities and periods the height of virtue has been in not having a wife at all.

Stanley Hall, the great psychologist of Clark University, said that the best way to understand what ethics is, or morals, is to substitute for morals the word "morale." That that is correct is suggested by the very derivation of the terms. Ethics comes from a Greek word, which means custom, folk-way. Morals comes from a Latin word which means the same thing. What is "right," in other words, is the thing that is done, what is wrong is the "thing that is not done in polite society," which is not accepted as honorable in the circle to which you belong.

There is the story about the boy

who asked his father what was meant by ethics and when a thing was ethical and so the father explained: Suppose there are two men who are running a tailor shop—two partners—and one of the partners is in the shop and a man comes in to get a suit on which some repairs have been made. The customer hands the partner a \$10 bill and he gives him back the change for \$5.00 instead of for \$10.00. Now the ethical question would be, the father explained to the boy, whether the partner would be right in withholding the facts from his partner! To use another instance, to scab may be the height of goodness or of badness depending on your code.

## Morals Is Morale

If morals is morale, it means that the rules we observe, the standards of right and wrong that we have, are the means by which the group to which we belong hangs together. And that is exactly what morality in practice has always been, regardless of what it may have been in theory.

That does not mean that human beings started out with standards of morality ready made. They didn't first get ideas and then act; they first acted and then got ideas as a result. People were made by the group to stick together; therefore, they became cooperative people. They were made to stand up in the face of the enemy; therefore, they became courageous people. In other words, every human act has its effect both outwardly and inwardly. You hate an enemy and that has an effect upon him. It also does something to you. You run away and that has a physical effect, it puts you at a certain distance from somebody else, but something has also happened inside you when you have run away.

It has always been found, furthermore, that bringing outward sanctions to bear upon people in order to get them to play the game, to carry on as the group required, was not enough. A man might be very courageous in the face of the enemy when his fellows were there to watch him and would know if he ran away, but when he thought he was alone he would not be so "courageous." He might ordinarily be very careful not to touch his neighbor's wife, according to the rules of the group, but he would not be so

careful when he thought nobody was seeing him. So all groups added to the outward sanctions other influential, so-called religious sanctions, and said, "You have got to be good; you have got to observe the rules of the gang; you have got to run with the gang, even when you are all alone. And you had better, because God or the gods see you. You will be punished anyway whether other members of the gang happen to see you or not."

Thus conscience develops, and because it develops in just this way, conscience is both the worst guide we have in the world and in a certain sense the best guide we have in the world. We sometimes say: "Do what your conscience tells you." But people have murdered, have stolen, been intolerant, committed all the crimes under the calendar in the name of conscience, because doing a particular thing was in accord with the particular standard of morality upon which they had been brought up. On the other hand, human beings have survived precisely because they learned to act together, because they learned to play the game. It was possible to establish societies, tribes, nations, because morale was developed, that is to say, because people by and large were willing to act with the gang, to live as social beings, not merely because of outward compulsion, but because they had become social inside, because they had become capable of cooperation. We speak of the "survival of the fittest." It would not be very far from wrong to speak of the "survival of the conscientious." Those groups in which the spirit of cooperation, in which morale was developed at its highest, were the groups that survived.

This also suggests how we come to more advanced standards of action from time to time. To be moral, in the primitive sense that we have described, means to have a standard and a standard that you stick to even when you are not sure that you are going to suffer physical punishment if you do not. But that means that you are a person who has standards, and you then become able to apply standards in criticism of your own group, and so to advance to a higher standard still.

We may make certain other observations based upon this analysis of morale and its place in the function of the group. One of them is that groups are built up in conflict with other groups and so morale, while it is a thing that



holds your group together, is also the thing that makes it possible for your group effectively to contest with another group.

### Class Basis of Morals

In the second place, what we have said means that all morality so far, all morals, have been class morals, because the morality of any given human group will be the standard laid down, the standard required by the dominant economic element in that group. This element will impose certain rules upon others which they do not necessarily observe themselves. For example, you must be sober, you must be honest, you must be industrious, you must not gamble, you must be strictly moral, according to the prevailing code, in your relations with the other sex. These are the requirements that a self-ish class morality makes of the workers; they are all rules that are often broken by the master class.

It is also an interesting thing to observe on the other hand, that the teachers of mankind have always talked about a universal morality rather than a class morality, have always talked about a human order in which everybody would belong to one group and all would play the game together instead of being in conflicting groups. That idea arises from the very nature of morality. Because if you say that human beings must have morale, that is to say, they must respect the other members of the group, where are you going to draw the line? As long as you are dealing with individual human beings, if you require that your personality be respected, what human personality have you got a right to despise or disrespect or treat in a way that you do not wish to be treated? And that creates a dilemma in this field of morals, because if you are going to be moral, you have got to be moral in connection with all with whom you come in contact, and in the nature of the case we deal in the actual world in which we live today, with conflicting fighting groups, and morale is essential in the first instance precisely because it builds up your own group, holds it together in order that it may fight more effectively against the other group or class.

One of the phenomena that we always get therefore when conflict arises between groups, whether in the form of actual physical warfare or not, is divided souls among the combatants. When you have a divided soul you will try all the harder to rationalize, put a noble front on your action. In war people do exactly the opposite of the

things they have been told to do: they are unfair, they murder, they lie. When people go to war, therefore, they always try terrifically hard to persuade themselves that it is at the command of God or that it is for some great cause which wipes out, atones for, all the crimes that they may commit.

If what we have been saying is true, then it follows that we can never truly realize the implications of morality, that we can never have morale in the complete universal sense of the term, until we get a classless society. Between the slave and the master there cannot be morals, there cannot be morale, save in a very limited sense, because the relation itself is such that the master does not respect, and constantly violates, the personality of the slave.

### Need of Morale in the Labor Movement

It follows also that when we serve the revolutionary labor movement, strive to overthrow the class system, seek to build in its place the rule of the workers in which there shall no longer be subjects and slaves, we are doing the only effective thing we can do in our generation for building a world of justice and brotherhood.

All this implies that we are also confronted constantly with a serious dilemma in our work in the labor movement itself because the labor movement is itself divided. We must seek the triumph of the labor movement in order that classes may be wiped out. So long, however, as we live in the kind of world we do, we have not only a battle to carry on against capitalists and capitalism, we are likely to have battles and conflicts among ourselves.

If we say that in the conflict with capitalism anything goes, that there are no rules, there is no morale, because it is war, will that have an effect also upon our relations with our fellow-workers and upon the relations between us, our groups, and other groups in the labor movement? We cannot evade the consequences of the methods we use. Anybody who thinks that he can play with fire and not get burned, anybody who thinks that he can lie and not to that extent become a liar, anybody who thinks that he can vilify and not to that extent become foul-mouthed, is just ignoring one of the very simplest truths of psychology. Sometimes radicals have neglected that truth and we suffer unnecessarily from conflict, or from certain types of conflict in the labor movement because

they have not taken account of that fact.

To give one illustration: A very curious thing happened in the development of gangsterism in the garment trades in New York City as I get the picture. You begin by having the employers using gangsters in strikes in order to break up the picket lines of the workers. Then the workers say: "It is war and we can use any method in order to meet the enemy, so we will employ gangsters in order to protect our picket lines." That is the first step. The second step is, if you use gangsters in one strike then you have to use gangsters in the next strike. That means that presently the use of gangsters in strikes becomes a regular part of union equipment, union methods. The next thing is that the machine in the union which began by employing gangsters in fighting the employer on the picket line says: "If we can use gangsters to win a strike, why can't we use them to win an election in the union?" and gangsters, who by that time have become a permanent part of the union machinery, are so used. The next step, of course, is for the gangsters to say, "If we have to do the fighting on the picket line and if we have to win the elections, then we might just as well be the machine," and that is exactly what in a good many places has happened. In the meantime the employer does not cease using gangsters. Gangsters are not particularly keen under ordinary circumstances about shooting each other, so they arrive at some sort of understanding. The two groups of gangsters then also arrive at an understanding with the police, so that from the standpoint of the workers absolutely nothing has been gained in the situation. Everything has been lost, rather, because in the meantime the rank and file of the workers have gotten out of the habit of doing their own fighting on the picket line.

I am presenting this problem not for the purpose of solving it in this article, but for the purpose of pointing out that if we grant that the use of any methods in order to gain our ends is justifiable, that does not mean that we can escape from having to reckon with the consequences that flow from the methods we use. The same thing happens in internal conflicts within the labor movement itself. If in our internal conflicts we proceed on the assumption that "anything goes," if having gone on that principle in dealing with the boss we say next, and there is a very real danger that we will say it, "This element in the labor movement

is no better, is perhaps even more dangerous than the boss, therefore also any methods are justified in dealing with this element in the labor movement," then what happens?

What has taken place in the labor movement in this country and in certain other situations, what is likely to happen is that the psychology developed, the method used in one situation is inevitably transferred to every other situation with which you deal. You deal in a certain way with the boss, then you use the same methods in dealing, let us say, with reactionary elements in the union. Even within the more radical elements in the labor movement exactly the same thing happens; fighting occurs, with exactly the same methods, on the same basis, so there is a further division. Then within each new division exactly the same thing happens; fighting occurs on precisely the same basis and with the same methods, until you get endless divisions and a definite awakening of the movement as a whole.

I do not believe that any movement can survive on that basis. Certainly no organization, no institution can survive unless there is a measure of morale, a certain willingness to play the game, a certain willingness to give the other fellow a chance and to remain within certain limits of decency in dealing with him. If there is not morale then it follows that there is a state of war, and when there is war we have got to remember there are no rules any more. It means announcing that you are willing to stab in the back. If then the other fellow proceeds to stab you in the back, you may be sorry, but you haven't any basis for being resentful. It means that you will use any method in order to overcome him. If eventually he uses any method, however dirty and low, in order to overcome you, you may be sorry because you are licked but you haven't any basis left for resentment. You can't have it both ways.

It seems to me that all this does present to us a serious problem, because to my mind it is highly doubtful whether we can achieve the victory of labor in this country, whether we can avoid having Fascism established here, unless we can manage to have a united labor movement. In the face of American capitalism, its power, its organization, its wealth; in the face, on the other hand, of the weakness, the backwardness of the American labor movement, as it stands today, the job is going to be difficult enough under the best circumstances. It seems to me we may make it impossible unless some-

how or other we can develop a tolerably united labor movement. Lenin has shown us that the dogma of the inevitability of Socialism, that it is just going to come as a result of "natural processes," regardless of what we do, is a deceitful and dangerous dogma for the working class. Something depends upon us, upon whether we develop an effective revolutionary movement. To develop an effective revolutionary movement in this country seems to me to require a united labor movement.

That does not mean, as I understand it, a movement that is free from all controversy. The only place where there is no controversy is the grave. Nor does it mean a plea for softness, a suggestion that people ought to be "nice" to each other and that if we could only be "nice" to each other, then we would have a grand labor movement, and maybe even the capital-

ists would love us. The two things the workers need fundamentally are intelligence and power, and everything else is secondary compared to those two things. But if we are to have morale in the labor movement, if we are to achieve victory at all in this country, we must have a degree of unity, and if we are to have that, it follows, for one thing, that we cannot spend all our time in controversy and in fighting each other—maybe 99 per cent of the time, but not quite 100 per cent. It follows that there has got to be some restraint in the methods we use, some element of decency beyond which within the labor movement and when dealing with workers, we do not go. And it seems to me to follow that if we cannot work in full harmony together, at least we can each of us concentrate our energies upon attacking the common enemy rather than upon attacking each other.

## Modern Sunday Schools

By LAWRENCE COHEN

TEN thousand demonstrate in Union Square; textile strikers holding out; Socialists elect an Alderman in Oshkosh; unemployed battle for relief; these stories make even the capitalist papers. Much less stirring, but perhaps even more significant for the American Labor Movement, is the news that the Modern Sunday Schools have just reopened for the fifteenth year. Many of those who this winter are protesting starvation, will cease their protest if they once get a job; the children who receive a working-class education from the M.S.S. will be class-conscious militants as long as they live.

Started a decade and a half ago by German American workers, the organization has had its ups and downs, but today there are schools in Bronx, Yorkville, Brooklyn, and Queens, and a children's summer camp not far from Paterson, New Jersey. Parents are encouraged to take an active interest in the schools, and each school has its Parents' Association which meets regularly with the teacher. Today, the parents are the best boosters, and are actively working to popularize the schools. The subjects taught in-

clude Elementary Biology, Current Events, and Labor History and the courses are arranged to meet the needs of children of different ages. The students also participate in the general Movement by raising strike relief, attending demonstrations, etc., as well as by presenting plays to unions and other workers' organizations. Some one has said that if the M.S.S. did nothing else, its continued existence would be justified, by the way the students can sing labor songs. This, however, hardly does the schools justice, since so many good revolutionists have had their first training in its classes.

There is just one shortcoming to the instruction. Not a single pupil knows what a right deviation or a left Social Fascist may be. All the school tries to teach is the position of workers in a capitalist society and why the workers must unite to fight for Socialism. Openly political in the sense that it is frankly and proudly on the side of the exploited, the school none the less remain non-partisan, and I.W.W.'s, Socialists, and CPLAers cooperate in its management and control. They are doing a good job which deserves to be supported, commended and emulated. Send your children to the Modern Sunday Schools.



# "Free America"

A REVEALING picture of America in the year of 1932 was recently presented by a leading Philadelphia capitalist paper. On the first page, a big businessman was declaring that thousands now unemployed would never work again. Because of the improved "labor saving" machinery installed since 1929, they would be dead before they found work. On the last page was a story describing a banquet given by 250 millionaires that night in one of the local mansions. The masses starving to death. The bloated rich feasting. The story of ancient Rome and Czarist Russia repeating itself in America.

\* \* \*

Hoover's cold blooded and murderous eviction of the Bonus Army has encouraged the use of fascist methods of suppression throughout the country. Local politicians who are ruling in large cities, small towns, counties or states, have taken a tip from Herbert and are employing the most brutal methods of putting down any attempts at revolt.

In one state recently, a boy was sentenced to death for stealing fifty cents. In North Carolina, another was sentenced to the electric chair on a charge of first degree burglary in which the loot was a pair of second-hand shoes. In Philadelphia, a man was killed by a policeman while taking a bottle of milk for his starving family.

\* \* \*

The story of Harlan County, Kentucky, has been told over and over until it is known today to almost every literate American. Yet the strike leaders involved in that story are being railroaded to the penitentiary one after the other, and if the case of the four Centralia boys, still in Walla-Walla prison after 13 years, is any indication, these men will remain behind the bars until they rot—or until they are violently freed by their comrades on the outside.

Franklin County, Illinois, now becomes Harlan County, Kentucky, of a year ago. Government, militia, sheriff, operators and their henchmen, including officials of the United Mine Workers of America, battle the revolting miners of the new Progressive Miners of America.

\* \* \*

In the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, the low rumble of revolt can

by Arnold Johnson

also be heard by those who have ears. In the area around Wilkes-Barre, more than 35,000 miners are totally unemployed and the remaining 30,000 work an average of 7 days a month. One leader in Larksville declared to me, "As soon as the poor relief breaks down, we are going to go into the stores and take what we need." When I mentioned the idea of the miners setting up their own union and government, one leader after the other would look at me critically, then with eyes glistening would say—"Sure, it is our only chance." Some of these leaders, in their public statements very conservative, privately declare—"Let a man start from one of these hills to gather an army and he will have 50,000 men with him before he gets out of this valley."

Lebanon, Pennsylvania, is one of Charlie Schwab's towns. The Bethlehem Steel Company is the backbone of the town—fly-by-night textile and silk mills the ribs. The steel company is now working 16 per cent of capacity—wages have been cut 35 per cent. One worker to whom I was speaking earned \$1.37 in two weeks. He sent the whole of this to a revolutionary organization, explaining that "the workers need an organization which will lead them out of this system more than they need the few cents they earn, which only keeps them slaves." Those who need relief from the Charity Board receive 50 cents per person per week. The Mayor and his gang have suspended law in their attempt to keep organizers out of the town. "We won't allow any meetings in this town—we don't want any trouble in our mills," says the Mayor.

Wages in the textile and silk factories in Lebanon are on a piece basis. A 19-year old girl working in one of these factories, leaves every morning at seven o'clock and waits around until nine-thirty o'clock—if there is work she gets it—otherwise she goes home and returns at one o'clock; again she waits until two o'clock or two-thirty o'clock. During the week I was there this girl made four dozen articles and for that work and for the time involving four days she received a pay envelope containing four cents. She gave me the envelope as proof. On this envelope is the picture of a banker who is ad-

vising workers to deposit their savings in his bank.

Occasionally, this girl gets a solid week of work and by working nine or ten hours a day earns as much as \$5.00. Bosses say the four cents is an exception. Workers declare that the \$5.00 is more of an exception, and then the fascist Mayor shouts that outside agitators are making trouble in his peaceful town. The American Legion, The Veterans of Foreign Wars, Patriotic Sons of America and innumerable kindred organizations back up the Mayor—but in Lebanon the workers are awakening.

\* \* \*

South River, New Jersey, is a clay, cigar and needle trades town of 8,000 inhabitants. A militant spontaneous strike among the needle trades workers recently resulted in a riot. Imported special detectives and local police fired more than 100 shots into a crowd of striking workers. A nine year old boy was killed, many others injured. Resentment ran high. The Mayor ran away from the town taking his family with him. State Police saved the detectives and local police from a mob of 3,000 indignant workers on the night following the killing. A small boy, who was a playmate of the murdered boy, ran home and made a whip from a branch and then started out "to kill every policeman in town."

The background of the revolt in South River is contained in the misery of the following typical family, which I visited. There were nine—all in rags. The only member of the family working was a girl earning about \$5.00 a week. Because she was working the family was not eligible for relief. Yet the rent for the shack in which they live is \$16.00; light \$1.39 a month; the water had been cut off.

"My husband goes out every morning and gets a day's supply from the ditch across the field before the kids make it dirty," said the mother. Neighbors use the same ditch. One child was upstairs, sick. He had fainted several times in school. "The doctors say to give him orange juice and plenty of vegetables," she said, shrugging her shoulders in despair.

While the strike was broken up and strike leaders and sympathizers face long prison terms, the cause of the revolt remains and the police who killed the boy are free.

# Pioneer Youth and the Labor Movement

by Lucille Kohn

**T**HE story of two ventures in adult education among the West Virginia miners has already been told in *Labor Age*, but last summer there was a third educational branch functioning in the Kanawha Valley. That was the set-up organized by Pioneer Youth for the children of the miners.

Three summers ago Agnes Sailer, shortly after the Marion strike, conducted a project for the youngsters of North Carolina textile workers. Encouraged by her success down there and spurred on by the obvious needs of those southern communities, she worked with a regular staff in several more mill towns the following year. Last summer the suffering and starvation among the West Virginia miners lured the ambitious group of Pioneer Youth to take on that section of the country as well as the textile south.

So during the summer months in Ward and on Paint and Cabin creeks, a group of sixteen young men and women, some of them just out of college, some still undergraduates and several teachers launched their twofold experiment of progressive education combined with a definite trade-union drive.

From the tent colony in Ward or in the area where floods were raging the children swarmed around "teacher" either to hear a story, mold a vase, model a boat, act in a play or write a group letter to a Pioneer Youth camp in another part of the country.

Mothers and fathers looked with amazement and interest at these new activities that were springing up around them. "Whatever will my children do," they would say, "when Pioneer Youth leaves here? They sure are never hanging around at home any more, but always playing or working with the group."

This work and play carried on by Pioneer Youth is very definitely based on the creative urge theory of progressive education. The leaders are resourceful in developing any signs of interest, along all sorts of lines, that they detect in the children. They combine an intelligent control with a wide range of freedom—a difficult mating, but one which they seem to achieve with a considerable degree of success.

## Its Philosophy

Naturally the phase of Pioneer Youth which has the most vital interest for readers of *Labor Age* is its

attitude on labor and its stand on propaganda education. Like all live organizations, Pioneer Youth reflects the various shades of opinion of its leading spirits. It is, however, fair to sum up the collective opinion which form the guiding star of the set-up as being definitely against indoctrination of the children and just as definitely for surrounding them with an atmosphere which the leaders believe will in the long run make children in their "schools" not only class-conscious, but

the youthful participants to make good militant standards with which they marched. But undoubtedly the effect of the hunger march on the boys, who lived through it and later worked it up into a play, was to make them keenly alive to the need for such demonstrations and to give them an understanding of the reaction of the powers that be to the moderate demands of a band of hungry miners.

The possibilities of what Pioneer Youth may accomplish in its chosen field seem almost without limit, for in the hinterland of American industrial life there are thousands of communi-



Pioneer Youth Kids in West Virginia.

also eager to go out into the world to fight against the abuses under which their class labors.

Pacifism, internationalism, interracial harmony and understanding are the objectives always in the minds of Pioneer Youth leaders and when one small boy in North Carolina suggested the first project of his group should be "to drive all the niggers out of town," that suggestion served as a useful starting point for the resourceful leader to introduce some less drastic projects of her own.

Although Pioneer Youth leaders are set against indoctrination of the young, they make their own stand on social and economic questions in the communities where they work so clear that last summer the use of school-houses was denied them, because of their close affiliation with the West Virginia Mine Workers. And perhaps participation in the 1931 hunger march was not technically speaking indoctrination, in that "creative urge" impelled

ties where for a vast variety of reasons, it is extremely difficult to work with adults, but where there is still hope of accomplishing much for the children. So it lies in the realm of Pioneer Youth to be a useful element in laying the foundation for such a labor movement as all progressives envisage.

## La Follette's

GREAT NATIONAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

## THE PROGRESSIVE

In every issue it is fighting your battles against monopoly and organized wealth in government.

**Special Offer**  
**4 MONTHS**  
— 21 —  
**ISSUES 50c**

**STARTLING** facts suppressed by other papers will be revealed in the next issues. Send 50 cents today and be sure to receive the next extraordinarily interesting issues of La Follette's great weekly newspaper.

THE PROGRESSIVE, Dept. B., Madison Wis.



# The Workingclass Struggle in Great Britain

by Fenner Brockway

(Chairman of the I.L.P.)

Whilst I have been in America I have found considerable misunderstanding about the present position in Britain. I don't pretend to be able to write about it impartially, but I will seek to describe it as objectively as possible.

In the first place, the common impression in America that Britain has turned the tide and is on the way to economic recovery is just moonshine. During the year since the National Government came to office, unemployment has increased by 800,000, wage rates have decreased by nearly \$1,000,000 a week and the number of recipients of Poor Relief (that is, destitute despite our insurance and union schemes) has increased by 200,000. The standards of life of the British working class are going down and down.

But, in the second place, I am glad to say that a spirit of resistance to this lowering of standards is beginning to show itself among the British workers. For six years they have been accepting wage-cuts. Now at last they are rejecting them. We have recently had big strikes in the textile industry. The London busmen have refused cuts. During the coming year we shall certainly have a determined resistance by the railwaymen, and probably by the workers in the printing and coal-mining industries. A new militant spirit is arising. This spirit is also being expressed among the unemployed, large numbers of whom are now beginning to revolt.

The same is true politically. The rank and file of the Labor Party are beginning to swing to the left. Although the policy adopted at the recent conference of the Labor Party is, in my view, still inadequate, it represents a new temper among the delegates. Unfortunately, conference resolutions, as past experience has shown, do not count for much. The thing that matters is the control of the Party, and this remains in the old hands. Moreover, the candidates, who are now being readopted in the constituencies, are the same men and women who so tragically failed in the last Parliament, and they have neither the temper nor spirit to carry through a big and bold program. But even when as realists we recognize this, the significance of the swing of opinion among the rank and file cannot be ignored.

There remains the Independent Labor

Party. It has now become definitely Marxian in philosophy and its program is in essence revolutionary. It believes that Capitalism can only be prolonged at the price of a continued fall in working class standards and therefore stands for a decisive change from Capitalism to Socialism. It will seek to begin this change through winning governmental and administrative power, but it does not shirk the fact that a crisis may arise before such power is won. Therefore it is also preparing for a revolutionary situation arising from an industrial struggle or from a war danger situation.

I find many American Socialists are disturbed by the "split" in the British Government. I am quite confident that the present division will ultimately lead to a more real unity, and to a unity on a revolutionary Socialist basis. If the Left within the Labor Party succeed in capturing the machine for a decisive Socialist policy, the door to unity will be opened again. If they do not succeed—and I think this is more likely—there will be combination of the real Socialist forces outside the Labor party, which I hope may extend to many of those who are now in the Communist ranks.

Meanwhile the I.L.P. will carry on its agitational and organizing work, helping to create both the spirit and instrument of revolutionary Socialism and seeking to hasten the time when effective working class unity can be achieved.

## Warren Steel Strike

(Continued from page 12)

strike leaders had plunged into the fight hoping in this way to break the A.A., they once again erred. What really happened is that the strike cleared the atmosphere inside the plant for the A.A. so that the men on the job have now rushed into the folds of the A. F. of L. union.

At present the sheet and tin department is organized almost 100 per cent under the A.A. banner primarily because of the strike. Many of the victimized strikers have already become disillusioned and are begging to be returned to their jobs. The leaders of the S. M. W. I. U. did everything to play down the fact that this union is affiliated with the T.U.U.L. It is not

without some significance that the Communist Party is now criticizing the union and the conduct of the strike on the grounds that the Party did not play a more featured part.

## Faults of the A. A.

It is not the purpose of this article to analyze the shortcomings of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Union. To go into this thoroughly would necessitate another lengthy article. However a few outstanding observations should be mentioned here. If the A.A. had been on the job, and had fought the battles of the workers consistently throughout the past few years, it would have been impossible for any dual organization to have gained a foothold sufficiently to create any disruption. Due to its pathetic weakness at the time of the general wage conference in June, the A.A. was forced to take a 15 per cent wage cut for its sheet and tin workers. Nor was the role which the A.A. played in the strike highly commendable. Granted that it was necessary that the A.A. abide by their agreement in order to preserve their organization, it was an unpardonable act on the part of the A.A. in view of the June wage cut and the beastly conditions under which they are now forced to work, to say as they did in a release to the local press that they had "no grievance with the Republic Iron and Steel Corporation." Nor was it necessary for them to go still further and solicit the support and protection of the city and county police authorities.

This whole affair should serve as a strong lesson and a warning to the progressives in the A.A. They must either develop militancy in their organization or the organization will be forced from the field and permitted to die. A handful of highly skilled workers in a few plants in the steel industry cannot maintain their forces. The union must organize all of the steel workers. The sliding scale now maintained by the union is antiquated, and is not a sound principle for determining wages. The A.A. will have to become a fighting, industrial union if it is to survive and gain the respect of the rank and file in the steel industry.

# Unemployment Program of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany

(Translated from Kampfsignal)

In view of the great losses of those who have been forced out of employment, and the other millions who are interested in the solution of this (unemployment) problem, the conquest of unemployment becomes the most pressing task of the labor movement. The winning of the working class to a class-conscious program of action is absolutely dependent on whether the labor movement understands how to mobilize the masses in their fight for work. In this very task, however, the working class parties and organizations have thus far failed.

The Communist party has been content with some improvised, disconnected demands, and a propaganda for the scheme of a socialist structure, but without much attention to practical ways of accomplishing the desired end. The Social Democracy has not dared, in spite of its strength, and its even yet existing influence in the unions, to construct an effective program. Its concessions during the last period to the ever sterner pressure of the unemployed masses has been confined to parliamentary propositions—propositions which cannot be effective under the present circumstances—and to financing a reduced employment development program through the granting of a premium loan (Pramienanleihe). This indicates that the socialist reconstruction of the business organization is not so much a question of technic as of political power, since the state is not a business organization but an instrument of mastery. But both party programs have this in common, aside from their insufficiency, that they view the business of work-development as a party opportunity, and do not look at the working class as a whole.

In opposition to the so-called (wirtschafter) economic program of the Papen government, which culminates in a protection of the present holdings of corporation and agrarian capital, and the carrying out of which would have inevitable consequences in sharpening the crisis and increasing unemployment, it is the duty of all working-class organizations to unite in the creation of a program which will work toward getting the control of production into the hands of the workers, and pave the way for the capture of political power and the socialist solution of the crisis. In order to do this, it is expedient to turn the energies of the proletariat into channels where the constant and ever increasing unem-

ployment situation is not directly the result of the present industrial crisis, but rather caused by maneuvers to maintain certain ownership conditions in order to guarantee profitable monopolies, conditions which have themselves been overturned by the development of capitalism.

## The SAP Program in Condensed Form I. Fight Monopolies.

Trusts are the cause of increased unemployment. Thanks to their fine organization, their social power, they dictate policies on the market; thus lowering the standard of living, and increasing the chasm between production and consumption. A system of unlimited state subsidies which takes billions out of the pockets of taxpayers to save bankrupt industries is exacted by the corporations. The discrepancy is furthered by the increasing tendency toward lowering of wages and relief, and by artificial maintenance of long working hours now rendered unnecessary through technical progress. The latest Papen emergency degree is a combination of the most widespread subsidy system and the most brutal wage robbery.

Therefore, the most important and pressing demands of the program must be:

Fight against wage reduction; for shorter working hours. In short, fight for the workers to receive a greater proportion of their produce. That means fight against all subsidies.

## II. Fight the Agrarian Protective System.

Immeasurable are the catastrophic effects of the agrarian protection system. High tariffs have for years forced agricultural prices above world prices. Consequently the buying power of the masses has yearly been decreased in comparison with industrial products, and unemployment has increased accordingly. Aside from this, there is the cost to the people of four billion a year on increased prices and perhaps another billion in direct subsidies.

## III. Fight against expenditures for armament and weapons of suppression.

In proportion as unemployment increases, the disbursements of the ruling class for unproductive instruments of force and suppression, increase. Under the slogan of improving and simplifying,

immense sums are being thrown into the strengthening of the state's weapons of power; at the same time armaments are being increased, both openly and secretly, to an incalculable degree, burdening the people further with the cost of an imminent imperialistic adventure. In fact, the so-called "voluntary labor service" is being built up by the imperialist forces to be used as an army for systematic attacks on wages and for strike-breaking.

## IV. Fight for shorter hours.

The most important point in the work creating program is the demand for shorter working hours. For every hour of general work time shortened, something like one million persons will be put back to work.

Fascist Italy and capitalistic America seem on the point of accepting the 40-hour week. The German working class should demand, at the least, the 6-hour day.

## V. Fight against wage reductions.

## VI. Fight against tariff.

In the same way that the agrarian tariffs act—not as a protection for trade, but rather as a protection for the present property holders, so do also the industrial tariffs. Both serve to raise the cost of living, which means the lowering of buying power. They prevent the importation of cheap world products and increase the profits of the protected industries.

## VII. Fight against decreasing of relief benefits.

## VIII. Set in motion idle industries.

A general prohibition against further closing down of industry, operation to be continued with public funds: the operation to be secured through public accounting under the control of the industrial councils and unions.

Systematic reopening of the entirely and partly closed industries, under a similar financing scheme, and similar control.

Socialization of key industries, the large banks (the stabilization of the large banks alone has cost the Reich more than one billion marks) and great property holdings.

Engagement in far-sighted emergency relief projects, which would, first of all, help present conditions, lighten the housing shortage, etc., and furnish needed public institutions, such as schools, bath-houses, libraries, etc.



Immediate enlargement of the market for production machinery which is to be found by strengthening trade relations with the Soviet Union. In the first seven months of 1932, trade with the Soviet Union amounted to 200,000,000 marks; in the course of the year it may more than double this.

#### Financing the Program

Financing the proposed employment program to be through: a) Cessation and re-payment of subsidies. b) Enforcing payment of the taxes in arrears by property holders, and of deferred tariffs. c) Reduction of disbursements

for weapons of power. d) General cessation of all payment to the former nobility, churches, reactionary, societies, and the official propaganda apparatus—radio, films, press, etc. e) Drastic reduction of high salaries and pensions to the level of that of skilled workers. f) Raising the tax for the unemployed levied on property. Doing same with inheritance tax, and confiscation in case of tax evasion or flight. g) Making a compulsory loan.

#### Method of Carrying Plan Through

Unemployment is a problem for the entire working class. Successful fight against unemployment can only be car-

ried on, therefore, through a closely knit effort on the part of all working class organizations, regardless of political differences. The first step, then, is to build an employment-developing committee of all workers' organizations to work out details, and, under the guidance of the free trade unions, to carry on a campaign in order to create sentiment for an extra-parliamentary class struggle and united political action by the entire proletariat. Only a labor government, supported by the entire labor movement and its extra-parliamentary actions, can bring about the fulfillment of the program.

## Recommendations for Unemployed Organizations

*These recommendations were worked out by the Committee of Five appointed by the Conference of Unemployed Organizations which met at Niles, Ohio, October 9.*

#### On Organization

1. That a state-wide organization be formed to be known as The Ohio Unemployed Citizens' League.\*

2. That this organization be sub-divided into local organizations (branches) to correspond with the political sub-divisions of the state, county, city and township. These sub-divisions to be called Unemployed Citizens' League of their particular locality.

3. That this state organization be set up at the Convention of November 6, and temporary officers elected to perfect the organization.

4. That on November 6, a definite state convention date be set for the election of permanent officers, such convention to be held at Columbus in connection with the opening of the next session of the Legislature.

5. That the branches of the Ohio Unemployed Citizens' League be governed by the following principles:

a. Membership to be open to all unemployed and employed wage earners irrespective of race, creed, sex, political affiliations or national origin.

b. That these branches be organizations actually engaged in promoting the best interest of the wage earners.

c. That these branches shall be committed to the policy of holding meetings open to the public to be held in public buildings.

#### On Relief Standards for State-Wide Demands.

The following figures were arrived at on the basis of the lowest level of existence:

1. Demands for a family of five per week:	
Food .....	\$ 6.25
Clothing .....	2.75
Coal .....(for six months)	1.15
Light .....	.57
Cooking fuel .....	.57
Shelter .....	3.46
Medical and dental services...	1.50
Household necessities .....	.60
Personal necessities .....	.50
Replacements for household...	1.00

**TOTAL .....**\$18.35

2. These demands were worked out from the following allowances:

#### a. Clothing.

For a man per year:

One suit .....	\$15.00
Shoes .....	3.00
Shirts .....(3 @ 50c)	1.50
Sox .....(7 pair)	1.00
Underwear .....	3.00
Overcoat .....	5.00
Hat .....	1.00

**Total for men .....**\$29.50

For a woman per year:

Dresses (1@\$5.00 and 4@50c)	\$ 7.00
Shoes .....	5.00
Coat .....	10.00
Hosiery .....	3.00
Underwear .....	1.50
Hat .....	2.00

**Total for a woman .....**\$28.50

For a child per year (based on girl of 12 years):

Dresses (1@\$4.00 and 4@50c)	\$ 6.00
Shoes .....	6.00
Hosiery .....	4.00
Underwear .....	1.50
Coat .....	6.00
Hat .....	1.00
Sweater .....	1.00

**Total for a child .....**\$25.50

**Total for man, wife and 3 children per year .....**\$134.50

By dividing this total by 52 weeks we arrive at the figure of \$2.56 per week for clothing for a family of five. By making other small allowances the figure of \$2.75 a week was arrived at.

b. Other items (arrived at by the same process):

Food per person per week....	\$ 1.25
Coal per family per week	
(figured for six months)...	1.15

All other items as indicated in the budget. The item of household necessities includes: Soap, broom, toilet paper, etc. Household replacements include: sheets, towels, curtains, etc. Personal necessities include: shaving soap, razor blades, talcum powder, cosmetics, tooth paste, etc.

#### On Additional Necessary Measures Of Relief:

1. No water to be shut off under any circumstances, because water is a necessity and because of the health laws of the state.

2. No gas or electricity to be shut off as these are utilities considered necessary to the house-wife today.

3. Reduction of all utility rates, which includes the abolition of the service charge where it is in force.

4. All relief must be paid in cash.

5. Unemployed organizations must have majority representation on all relief administrative and distributive bodies. Such representatives to be appointed on recommendation of the unemployed organizations themselves.

6. All relief work done must be at the prevailing rate of wages in the particular locality where the work is done, with minimum of 40 cents per hour as provided by state law.

7. Relief for single men and women should be pro rated.

\* The name Unemployed Citizens' League was decided upon after much consideration. It being agreed that this name best represented the purposes of the organization.

# News From Workers . . .

## PROBLEMS OF THE P. M. A.

Wm. Stoffels

The difficulty between the Christian County miners and the operators is not an affair separate from the P.M.A. difficulty. The release was intended mostly for the merchants. There was no need telling them that our demand is the demand of the P.M.A. Our two coal operators in Pana are members of the coal operators' association. The businessmen exerted some pressure on them which resulted in a meeting we had with these operators last Monday. A few businessmen were present.

We told them we could not see any reason why the Pana mines remained idle, since the Pana miners had decided to work under the conditions that the operators had offered all the while. We made it plain that we would, however, not stand for any dictation in the matter of organization.

The operators' stand was as follows: They would start the mines and conform in every way to the proposed P.M.A. agreement. They would check off dues in the amount asked by the local unions and turn this money over to the locals; and they said they didn't give a hoot what we did with that money—send it to the U.M.W.A. or the P.M.A. or keep it ourselves. They would sign this agreement with the Pana locals, but refused to sign officially with the P.M.A. The reason they gave for this was that the Coal Operators' Association would take their out-of-town trade if they signed with the P.M.A. . . . We refused to enter into such a pact.

The P.M.A. scale is the same as that of the U.M.W.A. The reason that the operators are so strong for the U.M.W.A. and against the P.M.A. is that they know that the former is good for them, but they do not know what the latter might turn out to be. This P.M.A. puts on an air of conservatism, cooperation with the employers, etc. The operators see that, but they feel that it is camouflage. The officials of the P.M.A. have not sufficient power in the union to suit the operators. They know that when the power is with the rank and file the union will not be so well behaved as the old U.M.W.A.

The abandonment of the old scale and six hours could not be evaded, southern Illinois being at work. This situation also induced this rivalry to show the operators they have nothing to lose by dealing with the P.M.A. rather than the U.M.W.A. These things are regrettable because too much fellowship with opera-

tors is bound to lower the P.M.A. in the esteem of the coal miners all over the U.S.A. and make it harder to get them in—if not impossible.

That the P.M.A. must spread out over the U.S.A. before it can do much good is as clear as day. This fact is recognized by most miners and also by the officials. At the Gillespie Convention, we also made an International Constitution. No one even insinuated that that was not needed; and, believe me, the delegates were critical to the extreme in every other respect. The controversy about the N.M.U. at the Convention was due to several other factors, but not to provincialism of the delegates. The Convention also went on record for the calling of a national conference at an early date.

## MORE ABOUT THE HARLAN TRIALS

W. F. Burroughs

"Free," white and twenty-one, an American citizen, I went to Harlan County, Kentucky. Certainly, the constitution of the United States was on my side but, in Harlan, the supreme bill is classified as a piece of radical literature when its letter and spirit fails to coincide with the purpose of mine owners. I found that I was a "furriner" and a "red neck." A "furriner" from Chicago and "red neck" engaged in defense and relief work in behalf of starving people.

One night, a score of armed men came to my house. They shattered windows, broke down the door, ransacked the place and departed. Five months later, I was held prisoner in a lonely gap on Catron's Creek. The guards boasted of the raid and of their preparedness. There had been breast-plates, chain mail vests, and machine-guns, all to subdue "poor little me." I was flattered. Still, I was thankful that I had not stayed at home that night.

W. B. Jones and Wm. Hightower had already been convicted at Mount Sterling. Elzie Phillips (colored) was to lead the defendants to trial in the Harlan Circuit Court. We set about finding where Phillips had been during the fatal time. From people of unquestionable character we received a vindication for the union miner. He had gone to the main street of Evarts, made a purchase and returned home at about the time of the shooting. At no time that day was he within a quarter mile of the Evarts battle scene.

At great expense we established this in court. With unimpeachable witnesses we definitely proved the innocence of

Elzie Phillips, but the jury chose to accept the testimony of proven perjurers. The union miner was given a life sentence. That jury had been selected from a venire of fifty residents of the Upper Poor Fork, a region dominated by the U. S. Steel Corporation. T. K. Watson, one operators' man, was given a free hand in picking them. The defense was allowed no voice whatever. Other trials followed in Harlan.

Obtaining an acquittal is only a beginning, for a man coming clear, is charged with the murder of another thug in the same battle and tried again. Chester Poore was tried twice before his conviction. F. M. Bratcher is about to be tried a fourth time.

With the trials of twenty-two miners about to resume on November 10, the defense is badly in need of funds. Interested people and contributors may obtain a monthly financial statement and other literature on these cases upon request. All contributions should be made payable to the General Defense Committee, 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

## NOW IS THE TIME

A. R.

Perhaps I miss the point about the CPLA movement—several other people don't quite get it either. That is a grievous fault either with me or the CPLA idea as presented in "Labor Age"—for it seems to me that clarity is a necessary requisite to the validity of any proposal of a social movement.

It is not clear to me just what the CPLA is. Is it a promotional organization or a political party?

Perhaps what the CPLA will crystallize itself into depends upon events.

That sort of a position (if that is the position) is the sort of opportunism that to me is entirely unpalatable.

Again if the CPLA is a promotional organization, promoting progressivism in the trade unions, a new edition of Foster's original T. U. E. L., then I for one dismiss the whole thing from my mind as a passing ripple of no importance. For it seems to me that at this time, in the midst of the world crisis of Capitalism, for a movement to be absorbed in a plan to revitalize and inject progressivism in the trade unions shows a lack of understanding or appreciation of the portents of the present crisis of Capitalist economy—or, it reveals an evolutionary Socialist soul.

If the CPLA feels the need of an American revolutionary party cognizant of the particular American features of



Capitalism in the U.S.A. and cognizant of the fact that there is an American culture that has permeated a large strata of the American working class, and that this is a psychological element of importance in the fight, and—if the CPLA feels that there is no such party afoot—the CPLA should act boldly. It is time. To try to evolve into such a party is a grave error. It is temporizing with an urgent need. It shows, I fear, a concealed sense of adroitness in place of an audacious spirit. Perhaps the CPLA element is not the crowd to give us the revolutionary party of America.

There are a goodly number of workers and intellectuals in these United States who abhor the Socialist Party and cannot go along with the Communist Party.

The quarrel of these people, like myself with the C.P. (in which I militated for several years) is not that the C.P. wants a fundamental revolution, that it demands stern discipline from its members, that it shuns the fantasy of political democracy, or that it stands unalterably for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The quarrel is that the present C.P. is irretrievably in the hands of hysterical elements, careerists, and incompetents, who have isolated the C.P. from the American workers, and farm proletariat, and has kept it tangled up in the foreign investments of garment workers. The utter lack of seriousness in the C.P. has damaged the cause of Communism in this country considerably. There is hardly a person in the C.P. today (unless very recently joined for the first time) that has not been declared a traitor at one time or another, by one faction or another. The ease with which in the last ten years, many have passed from revolutionary workers, true sons of Lenin, to counter-revolutionists and renegades, and back again to worthy revolutionists in the C.P. has been a most dolorous tragi-comedy.

I believe at this great distance from Union Square, that a straight from the shoulder launching of an American revolutionary party, rigid in its fundamental principles of the class struggle, with due regard to the international aspects of the class struggle, and of course the absolute support of the Soviet Union, with a serious and proper approach to the American worker, an approach that would command attention and respect—in fine a technique suited to the psychology existent among American workers—such a party is an urgent need and would receive a surprising response.

I am not advocating a propaganda league, or a missionary outfit—I mean a party of action as well as propaganda, a party that will get to the American work-

er. That for the reasons that I have stated, or for reasons that I have not stated the C.P. has miserably failed in.

That the C.P. has failed in this is incontrovertable. Surely the Communists themselves (I mean the official Communists) are not going to say that the American worker is hopeless. Objective conditions surely have been favorable to Communist infiltration in the last three years at least.

But here I am going on up the wrong alley. I didn't mean to talk so much about the short comings of the American Communist Party. What I am particularly interested in is to learn, if I can in specific terms, what this organization of the CPLA really is.

I want to become politically active again. I've had my fling in the C.P. The S.P. I consider an out and out reform party, a would-be doctor of old man Capitalism. I am interested in burying the old monster, and I would like to hook up with an efficient expedition deliberately bent upon that enterprise. Are you it CPLA? or am I all wet?

I note you have a proper American lineup in your N.E.C. That is a step in the right direction. But why are you so ambiguous in your preamble. Is that the new technique in approach? It's not the technique I have in mind. I may be all wrong (it's happened before) but I believe sincerely that right now is the time for an American Revolutionary Party, that events are moving faster than we think, and that the idea of evolving is a mistake.

#### THE MELTING POT THEATRE

Stanley F. Guest

"The Melting Pot Theatre" at the Church of All Nations on Second Avenue is proving of immense interest to many people of the professional theatre, not to mention the enthusiasm manifested by liberal, progressive and radical elements contacted. The work being done by the non-salaried participants in the venture is stimulating genuine interest and enthusiasm from those people and groups who know the need for such an organization.

The first production is a provocative play by Carl Glick called "Enemies at Home." It is a play the like of which is seldom seen in the commercial theatre, due mainly to the fact that, even though it has tremendous appeal, the commercial producers dare not use it for fear of theatrical anathema.

There are many more such plays running the rounds begging to be produced. It is the purpose of "The Melting Pot Theatre" to find and produce them. Particularly labor plays.

Heretofore such groups have organ-

ized, listed sponsors mainly with theatrical backgrounds, produced a play—in rare instances two—and died a deserved, quiet death. We have profited by the sad experiences of our predecessors. We need and have sponsors with vision, with the desire to see us do plays written for workers' production; plays that will be worthy of their support. A. J. Muste has been invited to become one of our sponsors. Men of A. J. Muste's calibre as patrons will go far to show part of the people we wish to reach that we mean business.

"Enemies at Home" will be played December 9, 10, 11 at the Church of All Nations, 9 Second Avenue. The price of admission is scaled from 75c to 25c, in order to fit any one's purse. Be there on one of those nights in early December when we will show you and others interested in us that we mean business; that "The Melting Pot Theatre" is alive and away to a flying start.

## Finnish Opposition

(Continued from page 10)

cided to cooperate with us in the expectation that their groups when re-constructed would formally affiliate with us.

When the question of future activity of the group came before the convention Wilho Boman, the Secretary, said the following, as quoted in *Vappa Sana*:

"Up to now our activity has been weak and without much coordination. In some communities the lack of results and coordination are to be severely analyzed. Although workers are leaving the old organizations in disgust, the Socialist Party because of its leanings towards the petty bourgeoisie, and on the other hand the useless hustling and terror in the Communist Party, not much has been done to draw these elements into a movement unifying the working class.

"The accusation that we are a sectarian group is not true for we have made a strong organization with our Canadian friends, and there is an all embracing organization, the CPLA, which works for the same ends and on the same principles as we. Some of our comrades have a boss-class ideology and think that to organize we should wait for better times. But if we feel that we belong in the working class we must be active. If our comrades don't want to work on a larger scale then it is best that we drop out of the picture as cowards!"

# New Books . . .

## A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

**As I See It.** By Norman Thomas. Macmillan Company, New York, 1932. \$2.

WITHIN recent years Norman Thomas has taken to writing books. The reader who expects to discover within their pages either Marxian terminology and interpretation or, indeed, a treatment of present economic problems from a theoretical point of view will be disappointed. The author, the leader of the Socialist Party, has made his books conspicuous by the absence of this kind of treatment. The books are appropriately called *America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy, As I See It, and What's the Matter With New York*. In these books the author deals with immediate problems, their pages are filled with factual and descriptive material which is persuasively presented and designed to appeal to the reasonable person. But the reception which these books had has not been altogether pleasing to the author.

In the first part of *As I See It*, Mr. Thomas takes issue with the reviewers of his earlier book, *America's Way Out*. He indicates disappointment and some bitterness over the fact that the reviews pictured the book as "mild socialism" and "just common sense." He is probably correct in thinking that this, in part, is to be accounted for in the fact that the book was addressed to a public that had had its faith shattered in the doctrine of unalterable prosperity and had accepted the doctrine of unalterable depression and poverty. That part of the public which read the book without knowing the author expected to find, then, that the leading socialist of America would breathe fire and rebellion. But when they had examined the book they found it either "sensible" and "reasonable" or its proposals not sufficiently radical to make much difference in the existing order.

*As I See It* is the logical sequel to *America's Way Out*. Actually it falls short of this. A possible explanation is that *As I See It* contains material which appeared under the author's signature in the Christian Century, the Forum, the Atlantic Monthly, as well as speeches made by the author at the Williamstown Institute and at the Commencement Exercises at Smith College. But the book is not the hedge-podge that this might indicate, for no matter what the subject, the author's declarations of faith in democracy, the possibility of orderly and systematic change of existing institutions, and so on are written into every

page and give a unifying effect to a variety of topics.

It may be true, as many students of the American scene point out, that at present the American working class is inarticulate, lacking in a consciousness of class interest, and interested in a philosophy of economic arrangements on a basis of worker control. But granting the desirability—as those interested in establishing a socialist society readily grant—of a class-conscious proletariat engaged in those tactics designed to win, for workers, control over economic and political institutions—the question becomes: is *As I See It* likely to assist in the process? A negative answer is defensible. Both because of the materials in the book and because of the point of view expressed by the author, the appeal is to the great middle class—that virtuous class, which the English utilitarians of a past century expected to liberate and make all-powerful in the scheme of things.

However, it depends on one's own philosophy as to whether or not the above is a criticism of the book. If one looks to the proletariat as the mainspring of future progress, and of the party which Mr. Thomas represents as the rallying factor of that proletariat, then, of course, the above is critical. A more realistic view, however, will accept the book in question as a frank and persuasive appeal to that part of the mass of people who are neither textile workers, coal diggers, steel workers, financiers, industrialists, or brokers.

In the case of Mr. Thomas, he sees clearly the elements in modern society making for catastrophe: crooked politicians and rotten political government; denial of constitutional guarantees of the cardinal features of liberty—freedom of the press, assemblage, and of speech; war and armament expenditures; the lack of any economic planning motivated by social worth; the rise of a public attitude conducive to the development of fascism; and so on. These things fill the pages of "*As I See It*." They are bad, and instinctively Mr. Thomas is led to fight against them. The weapons he uses are those which he might be expected to use—in his books, articles, and speeches; over the radio and on the lecture platform; through the trade unions, the church, and the Socialist Party he conducts his campaign. The sum total of all these injustices plus his entire background make Norman Thomas the man he is—an individual campaigner against social injustice who, although believing

in organization, never quite secures the basis for his desired organization. In his forceful appeals for elementary justice he has come to mean more than his party; evidence abounds of the "Thomas but not socialist supporter." However true this may be to past American experience, herein lies in good measure the tragedy of opposition groups over long-time periods.

Mr. Thomas continues to fight—and with some immediate success—against the evils of society as he sees them. He would reform society by teaching, leading, preaching, and cajoling. His belief in democracy and in orderly and intelligent change is another distinguishing characteristic. These mark his present books in a definite manner. He desires to enlist support for "the great crusade" to create "cooperative commonwealths of mankind in which peace and plenty shall be the law of the universal heritage" and so on. If this is not indicative, it may be definitely stated that his language at times is the language of the minister—vague as it may be—scornful as the realists may be of it—the reviewer points out that at least it is the language which most Americans have in the past understood best. And it is the language which Mr. Thomas knows best.

"*As I See It*" then, is in the Norman Thomas manner. By its content, tone, recommendations and so on it is as much a part of the author as any part of his person. In this case one cannot separate the book from the author. The book is a speech to whoever will buy it.

WILLIAM L. NUNN.

**THE CASE AGAINST CAPITALISM**  
**Must We Starve?** By Scott Nearing.  
Vanguard Press, New York. \$2.50.

IT is no ordinary depression this time. The able boys who cried "It's a passing squall, we've had them before," are beginning to wonder what has happened. As we all know, there was to be a Golden Era. Workers would live in tiled houses and eat chicken. Better yet, profits would forever increase. Wise professors of economics said it was true. And there was a grand clapping of hands all round as the modern magicians of high finance and imperialism extended their money producing fingers to the ends of the earth. They picked money in all directions, from trees, from holes in the ground, and from the backs of workers. Ahead, everything was clear and pretty. There were a few dark war clouds on the horizon, to be sure, as might be expected, but really nothing to worry about. The workers



would go on working, producing things to be sold; the profits would be reinvested, making more work and more things and more sales and more profits; and meanwhile, as the wizards of capital got dominion over and laid tribute on the last wild man in the farthest jungle, it would somehow happen that, but in a certain and sure manner, a new era, already in bud, would burst into bloom, and we'd all be rich. We'd line our pockets and blush to see a beggar.

The apologists for capitalism are now eating these fine predictions and wondering what the devil has happened. The system that was so essentially sound is prostrate with a high fever all over the world.

Worse yet, all the emergency remedies have failed. The unemployed millions grow. Why?

Capitalism has gone its limit. "The existence of idle starving millions side by side with surplus goods and idle productive power show conclusively that the capitalist system has decayed to the point where it can no longer support its working population. Mass starvation is the direct outcome of economic breakdown. . . . An entire social system is slipping into oblivion. . . . They (the plans put forward to save capitalism) are plans for changing the type of salon decorations on a ship that has a hole in her bottom."

Scott Nearing tells in this volume the world drama of the skyrocketing of capitalism from competitive business to monopoly to world-bank imperialism, the rationalization of industry, the struggle for colonial markets, the bursting of the prosperity bubble, the market crash, the plunge downward—why it had to happen and what it means. Among other things it means that today there are between 150 and 200 million people in the capitalist countries of Europe and America who are no longer needed, and who must be sacrificed to save the system if capitalism is to survive.

"The system," says Nearing, "can let the surplus population die of slow or quick starvation or from the diseases that come from malnutrition. Such a method is dangerous, but it has been followed again and again in the past with a considerable degree of success.

"The capitalist military machine may slaughter the surplus population in war. This method is more dangerous, since all first class modern revolutions have been directly connected with war.

"Since it is economically impossible to feed this surplus population indefinitely, and since birth control violates the accepted moral standards of Christian

civilization, there seems to be nothing for it but to fall back on the time-honored devices of starvation, disease and war. . . ."

So there it is, the contradictory results of capitalism: surplus wealth faced by multitudes seeking work and bread.

The one and only way out is through the labor movement. "The only possible alternative to the planless economic chaos of maturing and declining capitalism is a forward move to the next stage of economic development, in which the center of economic concern is no longer the owner and the profiteer, but the worker and the creator."

This task is for the workers. They do not appeal to legislatures, courts, governors or presidents, because "there is no authority in the capitalist world that will sanction the necessary social reconstruction."

"Must We Starve?" is the Marxian case against capitalism told in terms of peoples and nations, world finance and mass hunger. Scott Nearing writes about the tremendous play of world economic forces in simple language that strikes home with sledge-hammer force. Elemental, stark, logical, concerned with saving the people and not the system, the book is a jolting revelation of the realities of mass starvation.

TESS HUFF.

## Revolt Brews in the Anthracite

(Continued from page 13)

fore very unlikely that the miners will agree to arbitration.

The wage reductions requested by the operators would mean reduced earnings somewhere between \$25,000,000 and \$55,000,000 a year. Earnings during 1931, the miners assert, were at least \$34,000,000 below those of 1930. Except for a promise to put more men to work, the operators promised nothing in return for a voluntary wage cut. Nothing even resembling equalization of work was offered in the proposals of the operators.

The operators plead with the miners to make the sacrifice for the good of the industry. They pointed to New England, which in 1920 consumed over 11,000,000 tons of anthracite and only a little more than 8,000,000 tons ten years later. They predict that production for 1932 will be somewhere near 47,000,000 as against over 75,000,000 for 1928.

The miners, however, do not see

why they should be made the victims of unwise policies by the rulers of industry; they point to an ever-increasing rationalization of the anthracite industry, which is throwing thousands of miners out of work.

Up until a dozen of years ago it was the general practice in the anthracite industry to construct a breaker—a plant where fresh mined coal is prepared for the market—for every mine opening. This has now been changed and central breakers are the order of the day. At Shenandoah, on October 3, a breaker was put into operation which will prepare the out-put of nine mines for the market. Instead of the 1,000 men formerly needed for the work, only 200 will now be employed. And inside the mine itself the mechanization process is going on with great rapidity.

Many of the unemployed miners today engage in "coal-bootlegging." They dig coal out of hillsides or abandoned mines and use it for themselves or sell it to gain a small income. The operators now are taking even this means of support away from the unemployed. On October 14, in Taylor, near Scranton, 44 men were arrested for these "illegal activities" and each fined \$10; arrests are taking place daily. Thus these men are now totally dependent upon poor relief, which in Scranton alone increased 600 per cent during the past two years and is utterly inadequate to take care of the needs of the unemployed miners.

Many miners will also be unable to voice their protest at the polls, for they cannot pay taxes and therefore are disfranchised. As against 46,000 in 1928, only 29,000 voters registered in Scranton this year.

During the past months several small strikes have taken place in the anthracite region. Several hundred pickets met in Simpson and tried to stop coal from being hauled away from a non-union mine; highway police dispersed the pickets. Two strikes at non-union collieries were authorized by the district officials but little activity reported.

The fall months have brought only slight improvement to the industry. International union officials, who visited Governor Roosevelt on October 7, were optimistic about a promise made by him, that he would call a coal conference, if elected president.

Regardless of the action of the industrial and political rulers, the miners will go and solve their own problems in their own way, and as time goes on, will do honor to the best traditions of the miners and of labor the world over.



## New Miners' Union in Illinois Grows

(Continued from page 9)

down already. Its enemies can develop no additional terror.

Instead of destroying the new union the methods of its enemies have served only further to cement the new groups ranks. The emotional loyalty that springs from the tears of widows, from the blood of miners spilled in a common struggle go deep into the hearts of coal diggers. The U.M.W. of A. has openly participated in this reign of terror and murder. For that crime it has eliminated itself from the emotional as well as the intellectual life of the miners. Once the bayonet is lowered the P.M. of A. will take complete control of the state.

By the time the new union got around to make a contract with the operators in the beginning of October, the state was so divided that the solidarity existing at the time of the referendum vote on a wage agreement under the U.M.W. of A. was destroyed. The division plus the terror compelled the new union to accept practically the same wage scale that had been recommended by the U.M.W. of A. and which had caused the revolt and established the P.M. of A.

This unexpected turn in the actualities of the complicated situation gave hope to the officers of the U.M.W. of A. who said, since the new union could give the miners no higher wage scale than the U.M.W. of A., the miners would see the error of their way and come flocking back to the old union.

This view turned out to be entirely wrong. The miners everywhere accepted the same wage scale under the new union which had precipitated their withdrawal from the U.M.W. of A. Thus did the leaders of the old union underrate the living truth that "man does not live by bread alone."

It has now come to such a pass in Illinois that if Peabody and Co. should decide to add \$1.00 a day to the miners' wages—in order to place the union safely into the hands of Mr. Lewis and John H. Walker once more—they would fail.

Everybody in Illinois understands that the struggle is in reality a fight to rid the coal diggers of a type of leadership which they firmly believe is responsible for the destruction of the miners' union all over the United States. After that battle is safely won—wages and a good many other questions will properly come up for attention—not before.

While the fight goes on to bring the 10,000 employed miners now working under contracts of the U.M.W. of A. in the southern part of the state into the new union the strike against the Peabody interests in the Taylorville field has to be maintained. Every mine liable to operate must be watched. The U.M.W. of A. is attempting, naturally, to destroy the dual union and the campaign of the U.M.W. of A. field crew has to be followed and met.

The headquarters of the P.M. of A. is still the center of a desperate struggle continuing on a long front and it still is buzzing with excitement. Thousands of strikers need relief and thousands more unemployed need aid. These problems are genuine and nasty. Everywhere money is required and money is hard to find. But underneath the surface of cheering mass meetings, of funeral processions, of trips in and out of jail, there is a union settling down to work. As November begins, the Superior Coal Company of Gillespie, owned by the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad and employing 2,500 miners, settled a strike with the P.M. of A. This operation is a part

of a large Operators' Association which has bitterly opposed the new union.

The P.M. of A. deserves the enthusiastic support of every person and group in the country who believe in honest unionism. And what the P.M. of A. needs more than any other thing is money. These miners in the past have willingly opened their purse to all the causes that ever got to their ears and they never supported a cause more worthy of help than their own cause is today.

**AMERICAN MILITANTS**  
who want to keep in touch with  
**BRITISH MILITANTS**

should get the British

**"NEW LEADER"**

the weekly organ of the I. L. P.  
edited by

**FENNER BROCKWAY**

Annual Subscription: \$2.50  
Sample Copy Free

Lanark House, Seven Sisters Road,  
London, N. W.

**This IS Important—**

## THE MODERN QUARTERLY

### Winter Issue

Why Herbert Hoover Hates Soviet Russia.....	Walter Liggett
Can We Have a Proletarian Literature?.....	V. F. Calverton
Art and Revolution .....	Diego Rivera
From Hegel to Marx.....	Sidney Hook
White Collars and Horney Hands.....	Max Nomad
The American Revolution .....	Lewis Corey

Other articles and reviews by Samuel D. Schmalhausen, Granville Hicks, Henry Hart, Michael Blankfort, Robert Briffault.

The Modern Quarterly becomes a monthly on January 1st, 1933. Yearly subscription rates for the Monthly will be \$2.50. Save 50c by subscribing before January. Rate until then is \$2.00.

I enclose	\$2.00 for one year of The Modern Monthly
	\$1.00 for six months of The Modern Monthly
	\$2.25 for the last issue of the Quarterly (50c) and one year of The Modern Monthly (\$2.00)
	\$4.75 for one year of The Modern Monthly and "The Liberation of American Literature" (\$3.75) by V. F. Calverton
	5c for this single issue.

Name .....

Address .....

Address: P.O. BOX 97, STATION D New York, N. Y.



# BROOKWOOD

A PLACE WHERE ALL RADICALS WILL MEET

## SPECIAL FEATURES

*Each Day*

FOLK DANCES

INTERPRETIVE DANCING

PLAYS

BALLET DANCING

SKITS

CHORAL SINGING

and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

SOMETHING DOING EVERY MINUTE

DO YOUR CHRISTMAS SHOPPING at the

## Brookwood Bazaar

*Everything From*

TOYS, BOOKS and CANDY to FOOD and CLOTHING.

*Books Autographed by Famous Authors.*

VISIT

THE RUSSIAN RED CORNER  
AND TEA ROOM

THE ALT NUREMBURG  
RESTAURANT

SEE WHAT YOU CAN FISH  
OUT OF  
THE FISH POND

ALSO

You can now get Greeting Cards with  
Labor and Social Protest designs, with  
Socialist, Communist and general Labor  
Emblems. These distinctive hand made  
Greeting Cards, Black Print on Red Paper,  
can be ordered through Sam Bakely, Bazaar  
Secretary, 128 E. 16th St., or at Bazaar.

EVERY AFTERNOON AND EVENING

*Friday, Saturday & Sunday*

Remember The Date

Tickets on Sale:

C. P. L. A.  
128 E. 16th S.

Rand Book Store  
7 E. 15th St.

**Admission**

..

..

..

**25 Cents**

A  
Z  
A  
A  
R

IRVING PLAZA

15th St. & Irving Place

DECEMBER

2, 3 AND 4

# **Tweedledee Has Won**

He will go to the White House and work strenuously to save capitalism. The workers and farmers who voted for him will be sacrificed to this impossible end.

The workers and farmers who voted for Tweedledee didn't think of this; they thought they were voting for a man, and not a system—a good man who, unlike Tweedledum, would somehow change things: somehow he might start the wheels of industry and commerce, raise the price of wheat, and bring back 12,000,000 jobs and billions in profits and wages.

A little while and several million workers and farmers will be bitterly disillusioned. Their welfare will continue to be sacrificed by the Tweedledums and Tweedledees, and the industrial and financial barons who racketeer in human welfare. The siege upon wages and living-standards, the attempts to patch up and stabilize

the business-for-profit system, will continue.

But when a system can no longer give employment and security to workers and farmers, soon the masses become sick of the time-honored idols, first Tweedledee and then Tweedledum. And where can they turn? With proper guidance and inspiration they turn to themselves, to their own power. And this is on the road toward a workers' republic.

Comrades, this is our chance! This is our golden opportunity, through **LABOR AGE**, to reach the workers and farmers with a message for a united mass labor party.

The man in the moon can't help. There are people who won't help. Hoover, Morgan, Mellon, Roosevelt—we can't leave it to them.

But to you. . . . A subscription to **LABOR AGE** will shove the movement on its way toward a united industrial and political uprising of workers and dirt farmers in America.

. . . Shove it today! Subscribe for self, comrades, members of the unemployed.

## **LABOR AGE**

*The magazine of the workers, by the workers and for the workers.*

128 EAST 16th STREET    ::    ::    ::    ::    NEW YORK CITY

*Enclosed please find \$1.50 (Foreign and Canada \$2.50) for which send me one copy of **LABOR AGE** CARTOON BOOK and enter me for a one year subscription to **LABOR AGE**.*

Name .....

City .....

State .....

Become Agents for  
**LABOR AGE**  
Special Bundle Order  
Rates